

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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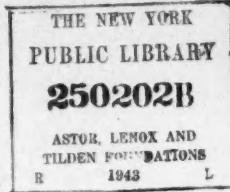
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### NUMBERS 1, 2

The Place of Protagoras in Athenian Public Life (460-415 B.C.) JOHN MORRISON	I
The Astrology of P. Nigidius Figulus (Lucan I, 649-65). R. J. GETTY	17
Greek Science and Mechanism. II. The Atomists. D. M. BALME	23
Marginalia Scenica. I. J. JACKSON	29
Macte, *Mago? L. R. PALMER	52
Nicias in Thucydides. H. D. WESTLAKE	58
Resolved Feet in the Trimeters of Euripides and the Chronology of the Plays. E. B. CEADEL	66
IE. *Pent- and its Derivatives. A. C. MOORHOUSE	90

### NUMBERS 3, 4

The Date of Archilochos. F. JACOBY	97
Some Textual Notes on Plutarch's <i>Moralia</i> . F. H. SANDBACH	110
Xenophanes, Fragment 3. C. M. BOWRA	119
The Singular Use of <i>Nos</i> in Virgil. W. S. MAGUINNESS	127
Some Emendations in Late Latin Texts. W. MOREL	136
The Division of Parts among the Actors in Sophocles' <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i> . E. B. CEADEL	139
Pindar, <i>Pythians</i> , v. 15 ff. A. Y. CAMPBELL	148
Notes on Plautus. ERNST RIESS	150
Marginalia Scenica. II. J. JACKSON	163
INDEXES	189

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## CONTENTS

THE PLACE OF PROTAGORAS IN ATHENIAN PUBLIC LIFE (460-415 B.C.) JOHN MORRISON	1
THE ASTROLOGY OF P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS (LUCAN I, 649-65) R. J. GETTY	17
GREEK SCIENCE AND MECHANISM. II. THE ATOMISTS. D. M. BALME	23
MARGINALIA SCENICA. I. J. JACKSON	29
MACTE, "MAGO?" E. R. PALMER	52
NICIAS IN THUCYDIDES. H. D. WESTLAKE	58
RESOLVED FEET IN THE TRIMETERS OF EURIPIDES AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLAYS. E. B. CRADLE	66
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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY-APRIL 1941

## THE PLACE OF PROTAGORAS IN ATHENIAN PUBLIC LIFE (460-415 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

PROTAGORAS, of all the ancient philosophers, has perhaps attracted the most interest in modern times. His saying 'Man is the measure of all things' caused Schiller to adopt him as the patron of the Oxford pragmatists, and has generally earned him the title of the first humanist. Yet the exact delineation of his philosophical position remains a baffling task. Neumann, writing on *Die Problematik des 'Homo-mensura' Satzes* in 1938,<sup>2</sup> concludes that no certainty whatever can be reached on the meaning of the dictum, since 'man', 'measure', and 'things' are all ambiguous, nor can we tell which of the three is the predicate. The time is past when it was believed that a man's philosophy could be understood apart from the events of his life and the circumstances of his age: yet in the case of Protagoras the historical method of approach has hardly been attempted, although the impact of environment was perhaps more decisive in the formation of philosophical concepts in the Greek world than anywhere else. The reality about which the Greek philosopher spoke had three aspects: it was either the one universe of physics, or the political unity, or God. For example, the book of Heraclitus *Περὶ φύσεως* was divided into three chapters or *logoi*, *About the Whole*, a political, and a theological.<sup>3</sup> Neither physics nor theology supplies from its own subject-matter the form in which this reality was described. The God of the Jews, on whom modern ideas of divinity are founded, is an irresponsible despot, *power* personified; but Greek thought had, by the sixth century, purged *τὸ θεῖον* of personification, and the idea which it was found to express was not *power* but *unity*. Xenophanes, who is well known as a critic of anthropomorphic theology, described God as *οὐσία σφαιροειδής*,<sup>4</sup> which he identified with the physical universe;<sup>5</sup> and both the One of Parmenides<sup>6</sup> and the Sphere of Empedocles<sup>7</sup> possess the attribute of divinity. The one round universe of the physicist is not a concept which has been formed by the observation of natural phenomena. The universe was conceived to be round because roundness is the most perfect expression of unity;<sup>8</sup> and the desire for unity is a disposition resting finally on the social and political instincts of humanity. The political aspect of the Greek philosopher's reality is therefore the most fundamental, and in it, if anywhere, will be found the clue to his more abstract ideas. My object therefore will be to prepare the ground for the correct appreciation of the philosophical contribution of Protagoras by reconstructing his political thought and activity. The historical material in his case is sufficient to yield results which, if not certain, provide at any rate an *εἰκὼς μῦθος*.

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the substance of this article was presented in a paper to the Oxford Philological Society in May 1940. The criticisms and suggestions which were made then have been of the greatest value to me when revising and rewriting the whole.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Philology*, xxxiii, pp. 368 ff.

<sup>3</sup> D.L. ix. 5 (Diels<sup>5</sup>, 22 A. 1): *τὸ δὲ φερόμενον αὐτοῦ βιβλίον ἐστὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτέχοντος Περὶ φύσεως, διῆργαν δὲ εἰς τρεῖς λόγους, εἰς τε τὸν περὶ*

*τοῦ παντὸς καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ θεολογικόν.*

<sup>4</sup> D.L. ix. 19 (Diels<sup>5</sup>, 21 A. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, *Metaph.* A. 5. 986b (Diels<sup>5</sup>, A. 30): [Xenophanes] *εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἐν εἴναι φησι τὸν θεόν.*

<sup>6</sup> Aëtius, i. 7. 26 (Diels<sup>5</sup>, A. 31): *Π. τὸ ἀκίνητον καὶ πεπερασμένον σφαιροειδές [θεόν είναι, sc.].*

<sup>7</sup> Simplicius, *Phys.* 1124. 1 (Diels<sup>5</sup>, B. 29): *... τὸν Σφαῖρον . . . , ὃν καὶ θεόν ὄνομά ἔει.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 33 b.

## I

We may begin by attempting to establish a broad outline and an approximate dating of Protagoras's life.

(a) Diogenes Laertius states (ix. 56): 'Apollodorus says that he [Pr.] lived seventy years and was a public teacher for forty, and that he attained his *akme* in the eighty-fourth Olympiad' [444-441 B.C.]. This scheme is clearly founded on two statements known to us:

- i. Plato, *Meno*, 91 e: that Protagoras 'died nearly seventy years old and having practised for forty years'.
- ii. Heracles Ponticus *Περὶ νόμων* (ap. D.L. ix. 50): that Protagoras wrote laws for the colony of Thurii (founded 443).

Apollodorus apparently placed his *akme* in the year of the founding of Thurii, just as he makes Herodotus and Empedocles, who are also said to have gone to Thurii, forty years of age in the same year, and Xenophanes forty years of age in the year of the founding of Elea.<sup>1</sup> Diogenes's mention of the Olympiad only must be a gratuitous imprecision, since Apollodorus dated by archons, not Olympiads. Apollodorus therefore uses no evidence not known to us, and he can accordingly be neglected.

(b) The only useful contribution to the dating of Protagoras is made by Plato in the dialogue which bears his name. Protagoras is made to say (*Prot.* 317 c): 'And yet many are the years which I have now spent in my profession, for indeed I have lived many years altogether: there is not one of all of you whose father I might not be in age.' Socrates was in his seventy-first year in 399 (*Apology*, 17 d; *Crito*, 52 e). If then the dramatic date of the dialogue may be established, we can calculate the least age of Protagoras at that date.

*The dramatic date of the Protagoras.*

Athenaeus (v. 218 b) charges Plato with committing serious anachronisms. Clearly, if Plato is consistently careless in his indications of dramatic date, the remark of Protagoras is valueless for our purpose. On the other hand, there is a distinction to be drawn between persistent carelessness and occasional trivial time-references irreconcilable with the main consensus.

There are three indications consistent with a dramatic date of about 433 B.C.

i. The opening words (309 a) imply that Alcibiades is only just recently to be called a man. It must be inferred that he had just finished his ephèbacy and thus been admitted to his full rights as a man and a citizen. Since he served at Potidaea in 432, his ephèbacy cannot have ended later than 433, possibly a year or two earlier.<sup>2</sup>

ii. Pericles and his sons, who died in 429, are spoken of as still living (319 e).

iii. The presence at Athens of Hippias (315 c), whose state, Elis, was a member of the Peloponnesian League, is only possible either before the outbreak of the Archidamian war (431) or after the Peace of Nicias. We can infer from the *Hippias Major* that he was at Athens before the war (see below, p. 5).

The references which Athenaeus holds to be inconsistent with the date of 433 are likewise three.

i. He says that Hippoñicus, the father of Protagoras's host Callias, is assumed to be dead although he did not actually die till shortly before 421. He presumably takes the assumption to be implicit in the phrase (311 a) *παρὰ Καλλίᾳ τοῦ Ἰππονίκου* and in the statement that the room given to Prodicus was the one 'which Hippoñicus formerly used as a strong-room' (315 d). Burnet denied the necessity of inferring Hippoñicus's death from the first passage.<sup>3</sup> He cited the phrase *εἰς τοῦ Πολεμάρχου*

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby, *Apollodorus Chronik*, *Philologische Untersuchungen*, xvi, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *Plato, the Man and His Work*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Greek Philosophy I: Thales to Plato*, p. 111<sup>1</sup>.

(*Rep.* 328 b) which can be used of the house in which Polemarchus's father and brothers are living. But the parallel is not apt, since Cephalus is drawn as a very old man who has resigned the care of the things of this world into the hands of his son and is interested only in the next, while Hippoönus, who was vigorous enough to be *strategos* in 427, is unlikely to have given up the direction of his house in 433. The two passages of the *Protagoras* require the conclusion that Hippoönus had ceased to live at his house, but not that he was dead. There is evidence to corroborate this situation. Hippoönus divorced his first wife,<sup>1</sup> the mother of Callias, and she subsequently married Pericles (*Prot.* 315 a; *Plut. Pericles*, 24. 5): further, the quarrels between Callias and his father were apparently the subject of the *Callias* of Aeschines of Sphettus.<sup>2</sup> It is then not improbable that Hippoönus left his wife and son in the possession of his house and set up an establishment elsewhere, and that when his mother became the wife of Pericles Callias used the house as his own.

ii. The second charge of anachronism brought by Athenaeus is equally refutable. He says that Amipsias did not number Protagoras among the company of *phrontistai* in the *Connus* of 423, although Eupolis represented him as resident in Athens in the *Colaces* of 421. He infers that Protagoras did not return to Athens until after 423. There is, however, nothing in this conclusion to prevent Protagoras being present in Athens in 433. We shall see that it is likely that he would have left Athens after the decree of Diopithes in 430<sup>3</sup> and that there were special reasons for his return again at the time of Alcibiades's entry into public life in 422.

iii. The third charge must be admitted. The *Agrii* of Pherecrates, to which Protagoras alludes in the dialogue (327 d), was performed at the Lenaea of 421. There is no reason to question Athenaeus's statement, which may rest on the play-lists themselves.

A review of the time-references as a whole shows that the general consensus as well as the most important of them favours a dramatic date of 433. The single discordant reference is trivial and may well be due to an oversight. If, as the *Colaces* of Eupolis indicates, Protagoras was in Athens in 421, he is likely to have seen and commented upon the *Agrii*, which apparently dealt with 'Life according to Nature'; a subject in which, as a political theorist, he is likely to have been interested. Plato may have remembered the connexion between the play and Protagoras and have forgotten that he saw it on his third and not on his second visit. Alternatively, he may have been conscious of the anachronism, but have thought it trivial enough not to disturb the reader.

On the assumption that 433 is the dramatic date Socrates, who was in his seventy-first year in 399, would be in his thirty-seventh year at the time of the dialogue. To be his father *καβ' ἡλικίαν* Protagoras must have been at the very least in his fifty-first year. In the *Meno* Plato says that he died at the age of nearly seventy, i.e. in his seventieth year. If he was at least fifty in 433, his seventieth year would fall at the latest in 414.

#### *The date of Protagoras's death.*

There are two passages which have been used to determine the date of Protagoras's death.

- i. Diogenes Laertius, ix. 54: 'Pythodorus the son of Polyzelus, one of the Four Hundred, brought an accusation against him.'
- ii. Ibid. 55: 'Philocorus says that when he was sailing to Sicily his ship was wrecked, and that Euripides refers to this event enigmatically in the *Ixion*. Some say that he perished on the journey having lived ninety years.'

<sup>1</sup> Probably before 453, Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. <sup>2</sup> H. Krauss, *Aesch. Socr. Reliquiae*, 90, 163.  
i. 504. <sup>3</sup> See below, p. 6.

In face of the testimony of Plato, *Meno* 91 *e*, the tradition of a life of ninety years, which appears also in the scholion on Plato, *Republic*, 600 *c*, need not be taken into account. Jacoby<sup>1</sup> suggests that it rests on a confusion of *koppa* (?), the symbol of ninety, with *omicron*, the symbol of seventy.

The two passages taken together have given rise to the inference that Protagoras was accused *at the time of the rule of the Four Hundred*, fled to Sicily, and died either on the voyage or shortly after. This inference is responsible for the date assigned usually to the *Ixion*.<sup>2</sup> There is no justification for it. Pythodorus was one of the Athenian representatives at the conclusion of peace in 421, and of the alliance with Sparta which followed it.<sup>3</sup> He was then one of the conservative party who had always been opposed to the war and friendly with Sparta, and who finally brought about the oligarchical revolution of 411. The connexions of Protagoras, on the other hand, were all with the war-party, Pericles, and Callias, whose half-sister married Alcibiades. There were at least two occasions, in 418 and again in 415, when the peace-party might have taken advantage of the unpopularity of Alcibiades to rid themselves of Protagoras. Either of these dates agrees with the testimony of Plato: the date of 411 does not. There is no reason why we should not accept Philochorus's story of the shipwreck of Protagoras and of Euripides's reference to it. The assumption implicit in the narrative of Diogenes, that the event occurred on Protagoras's last journey to Sicily, may also be adopted.

There is one piece of evidence to suggest that the death of Protagoras occurred before 415. The *Argument to the Busiris* of Isocrates tells how Euripides in the *Palamedes* (Nauck 591) referred enigmatically to Socrates's death with the words:

ἐκάνετε, ἐκάνετε τὰ  
πάνσοφον, ὃ Δαναοί,  
τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνοντας ἀγδόνα Μονοῦ,

and that all the audience wept. Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 2. 8) is evidence that the *Palamedes* was acted in 415.<sup>4</sup> There can then be no reference to the death of Socrates, to whom anyhow the phrase 'all-wise nightingale of the Muses' and the parallel with Palamedes the great inventor is scarcely apt. In the *Phaedrus* (261 *d*) Plato calls Zeno, who could demonstrate many paradoxes, 'the Eleatic Palamedes'; and the name might well cloak a reference to any purveyor of new and strange doctrines. Euripides may then have designed an allusion to Protagoras, if he died after being forced to leave Athens shortly before 415:<sup>5</sup> nor can one fail to suspect that Philochorus, when he says that Euripides referred to the death of Protagoras enigmatically in the *Ixion*, has made a mistake and is thinking of the passage in the *Palamedes*.

#### *The outline of Protagoras's life.*

At the beginning of the *Protagoras*, the scene of which we have placed in 433, the young Hippocrates says (310 *e*) that he was still a *ταῖς*, i.e. less than fourteen years of age, when Protagoras was in Athens before. There is no clear indication of Hippocrates's age. He does, however, say that he has come to Socrates to get him to speak to the great teacher on his behalf, partly because he is rather young and partly because he has never seen or heard Protagoras before. We may, I think, infer that Hippocrates

<sup>1</sup> *Ap. Chr.*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> A fact overlooked by Diels (80 A. 1) when he uses the date to confirm the inference. There is no evidence for the *Ixion*'s date.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. v. 19. 2; 24. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 415. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Bury (*History of Greece*, p. 388) states categorically that Euripides is referring to Protagoras, and on that ground alone puts his death in 415. The passage is not included in Diels, 80 A.

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has not yet reached man's estate, although he is old enough to take an interest in Protagoras's teaching and to be independent of his schoolmasters. He is then probably an *ēphēbos*, i.e. between eighteen and twenty years of age. Protagoras must accordingly have left Athens at the very least five years before.

Heraclides Ponticus (ap. D.L. ix. 50) says that Protagoras wrote laws for Thurii, the colony founded by Pericles in 443. There is no evidence that he went there; but since, as we have seen, he must have left Athens about that time, the founding of the colony provides a good motive for his departure. There was to draw him there, besides his office of lawgiver, the gathering of eminent savants, among them Herodotus and Empedocles, who came to celebrate the foundation.

There is possibly a clue to the date of Protagoras's first arrival in Athens. In the *Meno* Plato says (91 e) that his professional life lasted forty years. Since it is hardly likely that Protagoras only began to devote himself to philosophy at the age of thirty, Plato may have in mind the date when he set up as a public teacher in Athens. If then, according to our argument, he was at least fifty in 433, he must have come to Athens at the age of thirty not later than 453. This dating gives him time enough to have built up a sufficient reputation to be entrusted with the task of making laws for Thurii in 443.

In the *Hippias Major*, which apparently takes place during the years of the Peace of Nicias, Plato makes Hippias reply to Socrates's observation, that it is a long time since he was in Athens, with the boast that Elis has been employing him constantly as an ambassador, particularly to Sparta (281 a-b). The previous visit, then, took place before the Archidamian war, and the circumstance that both he and Protagoras on that occasion were the guests of Callias provides the scene for the *Protagoras*. Later (282 d-e) he asserts that 'he once went to Sicily; and, although Protagoras was there and had a high reputation and was an older man, he, a much younger man, made a good deal more than a hundred and fifty *minaē* in a short time . . .; he brought this sum home with him and gave it to his father, so that he and all the citizens were amazed and dumbfounded'. This expedition of Hippias to Sicily looks like an early venture, before his reputation was established. It is therefore to be placed before 433, and we must suppose that Protagoras proceeded from Thurii to Sicily, where he spent a number of years before his second visit to Athens.

The plague constitutes a sufficient reason for Protagoras's second departure from Athens, but it may have been hastened by the attacks which were made on the position of Pericles shortly after the beginning of the war.<sup>1</sup> Diopithes, probably in 430, proposed a decree to impeach those who did not accept the gods or taught about celestial phenomena, 'casting suspicion on Pericles by means of Anaxagoras' (Plut. *Pericles*, 32. 1). Anaxagoras appears to have been prosecuted and thrown into prison; but with the help of Pericles he escaped to Lampsacus, where he died shortly after.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (xii. 38-9) and Plutarch (*Pericles*, 37-2) both give these attacks as the reason for Pericles's refusal to repeal the Megarian decree. I accept Adcock's conclusions (C.A.H. v, note 8, pp. 477 ff.) that the decree of Dracontides requiring Pericles to submit his accounts of public expenditure must be connected with his trial and deposition in 430, and that the decree of Diopithes was a part of the same offensive.

<sup>2</sup> A. E. Taylor (C.Q. xi, 1917, p. 81) argues that Anaxagoras retired to Lampsacus, where he lived until 428, nearly twenty years before the outbreak of war. This conclusion runs contrary to the whole weight of the evidence.

(1) Diogenes Laertius, ii. 7 λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σέρβου διάβασιν εἴκοσιν ἑτῶν εἶναι βεβιωκέναι δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα δύο. φησι δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐβρομηκοτῇ ὀλυμπίᾳ [500-497], τεθηκέναι δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐβδομηκοτῆς [ὑδροηκοτῆς Scaliger] ὀγδόνης [468 οr Sc. 428]. ἥμερο δὲ φίλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνησον ἐπὶ Καλλίου [456] ἑτῶν εἴκοσιν ἄν, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φιληρέος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ, ἔνθα καὶ φασι αὐτὸν ἑτῶν διατύψαν τριάκοντα.

This may be analysed as follows:

i. *Tradition A*: born 500, died 428.

ii. *Apollodorus*: [born 540], flor. 500-497, died 468. Since γεγενῆσθαι is ambiguous, it is possible

Plutarch in his *Life of Nicias* says (xxiii. 3): 'Men could not abide the natural philosophers and "visionaries", as they were then called, for that they reduced the divine agency down to irrational causes, blind forces, and necessary incidents. Even Protagoras had to go into exile, Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles, and Socrates, although he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life because of philosophy.'<sup>1</sup> The order, Protagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates, suggests that the exile of the first took place before the imprisonment of the second; and the fact that Plutarch attributes the attacks on both Protagoras and Anaxagoras to the same cause makes it reasonable to conclude that it was the decree of Diopithes that led to the flight of Protagoras from Athens as well as to the imprisonment of Anaxagoras. There is no clue to suggest where or how Protagoras spent the years between his second departure from Athens and his return in 422. It may be conjectured that he went to Sicily, where he had stayed before 433 and whither he turned when he had to leave Athens for the third time.

to bring Apollodorus into agreement with A by Scaliger's emendation; but he may have purposely placed him forty years earlier so as to enable him to be a pupil of Anaximenes, whose death he places in 499 (D.L. ii. 3; see *ibid.* 6).

iii. *Demetrius of Phalerum*: began to be a philosopher at Athens 456 at the age of twenty. In order to reconcile this statement with the tradition that he was twenty years old at 'the passage of Xerxes' it has been supposed that *Καλλίου* = *Καλλάδου*. Then, by adding tradition B, we get the result that Anaxagoras began to philosophize at Athens at the age of twenty in 480, left in 450 at the age of 50, and spent the last twenty-two years of his life at Lampsacus. The conclusion is impossible because (a) twenty years of age is much too young for Anaxagoras, who had already had a thorough training in Ionian physical science, to have come to Athens; (b) there is plenty of evidence of his activity in Athens down to 430; (c) there is no evidence of his having spent more than a very short time at Lampsacus. (For (b) and (c) see below (2) and (3).) A better solution of the difficulty is to suppose that D.L. or a later annotator confused *Καλλίου* with *Καλλάδου* and added *έτῶν είκοσιν ὅν*. The whole body of tradition recorded by D.L. (with the possible exception of Apollodorus) is then in harmony: Anaxagoras came to Athens at the age of fifty-seven in 457, spent twenty-seven years there (the thirty years of tradition B is a near enough approximation), and retired to Lampsacus in 429 where he died in the following year.

iv. *Tradition B*: lived in Athens thirty years. (2) Close connexion with Pericles: *teacher*, D.L. ii. 13, Plat. *Phaedr.* 269 e, Isocr. xv. 235, Plut. *Peric.* 6 (incident shortly before 442), Cic. *Orat.* iii. 138: *political adviser*, Plut. *Peric.* 16 (when an old man).

(3) His imprisonment, flight, and death: Suidas *ἔφυε δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Περικλέους αὐτῷ*

συνεπόντος. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἐκεῖσε καταστρέψει τὸν βίον ἀποκαρτερήσας. ἔχηγαε δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἔαυτὸν ἔτῶν δι, διότι ὅτε Ἀθηναίων ἐνεβλήθη ἐν δεσμωτηρίᾳ οἵτινες καυηὴ δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσφέρων; D.L. ii. 13 "Ἐρμηπός δ' ἐν τοῖς βίοις φίοιν ὅτι κακερωθῆ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τεθηρέμενος. Περικλῆς δὲ παρελθὼν ἐτενε... καὶ ἀφειθη. οὐκ ἔνεγκαν δὲ τὴν ὅμριν ἔαυτὸν ἔχηγαν; *ibid.* 14 "Ιερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν σποράδην ὑπωμημάτων φίοιν ὅτι δὲ Περικλῆς παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστηρίον, διερρυνκότα καὶ λεπτὸν ὑπὸ νόσου, ὥστε ἐλέω μᾶλλον ἡ κρίσις ἀφειθῆται.

There is no reason to doubt the tradition that he was a very sick man at the time of his trial. This lends colour to the inference that the trial was the result of the decree of Diopithes (430) which Plutarch (*Pericles*, 32. 1) says was directed against Anaxagoras (cf. Diodorus, xii. 39); and that it was immediately followed by his flight and death.

One authority alone is in disagreement with this conclusion. According to D.L. ii. 12 'Satyrus in the *Lives* says that the charge [against Anaxagoras] was brought by Thucydides [son of Melesias] in his campaign against Pericles; and that it was a charge of medism as well as impiety; and that he was condemned to death in his absence.' It is not at all unlikely that in the struggle which resulted in the ostracism of Thucydides and the final triumph of Pericles attacks were made on the friends of the latter, just as they were when his position was beginning to weaken in 430. This may have been one of the reasons for Protagoras's mission to Thurii in 443. It may be noted that the charge of medism is hardly compatible with the story (1. iii above) that Anaxagoras came to Athens at the time of the expedition of Xerxes. If he came with the invaders, he is unlikely to have remained as a guest.

<sup>1</sup> Transl. B. Perrin, Loeb Library.

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The conclusions reached in the previous section may be summarized as follows:

*Outline of the life of Protagoras.*

		Age
Born at Abdera	not before 490 or later than 484	0
Set up as public teacher at Athens	not before 460 or later than 454	30
Left Athens for Thurii	444	46-40
Returned to Athens: <i>Protagoras</i>	433	57-51
Left Athens (decree of Diopithes)	430	60-54
Returned to Athens ( <i>Connus</i> of Amisias and <i>Colaces</i> of Eupolis)	422	68-62
Died on the way to Sicily	not before 421 or later than 415	nearly 70

II

The only ancient literature in which theories of the state and human society are directly attributed to Protagoras consists of the two Platonic dialogues, the *Protagoras* and the *Theaetetus*. It may be argued that Plato, who can put doctrines into the mouth of Socrates which it is impossible that he ever held, is not to be relied on as a historian of other men's ideas. On the other hand, he has obviously taken such pains to characterize the speakers in the *Protagoras*, which is perhaps the most vividly dramatic of all the dialogues, that it seems inconceivable that he should not also put into their mouths the most characteristic of their doctrines. In the *Theaetetus*, which is more seriously philosophical, Plato seems to take special trouble to distinguish between the doctrines which are purely Protagorean and those which are his own development of them. This preoccupation is so marked that we can be confident of the authenticity of the former. Both dialogues further attribute to Protagoras an identical doctrine of human society. Let us first consider the *Protagoras*.

Protagoras professes to teach his pupil (318 *c*) εὐβουλία περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὅπως ἀνάριστα τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν διοικοῖ, καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατάτατος ἀνείη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν. Socrates seizes on the latter point. 'You teach then', he says, 'the political art and offer to make men good at politics.' He denies that 'being good at politics' is a thing that can be taught; and brings the evidence of the many, the Athenian people, and of the wise, Pericles, to support his contention. He is, in fact, pointing out that to train people, as Protagoras does, to be διυταροί in public life is against the current theory of democracy. He proceeds: the Athenian assembly demands expert advice on professional matters, while in any business connected with the policy of the state it is ready to listen to anyone—'smith, shoemaker, merchant, sea-captain, rich man, poor man, of good family or of none' (319 *d*). Pericles again did not believe that 'being good at politics' was teachable, since he left the education of his sons in the hands of others.

Protagoras is in an extremely difficult position. He must either admit his profession to be a fraud or declare the theory of the Athenian democracy to be false and his patron Pericles to be ignorant of the true nature of πολιτική ἀρετῆ. His reply exhibits the utmost address. He apparently harmonizes the teachability of the political art with the principle of the democracy on the lines of his apophthegm (Diels<sup>5</sup>, B. 3) φύσεως καὶ ἀσκήσεως διδασκαλία δεῖται. In reality he shows that the Athenian people themselves subscribe to the two incompatible principles, and thus absolves himself from the charge of subverting the democracy.

The reply (320 *c*-328 *d*) may be summarized as follows.

By means of a myth illustrating the rise of human societies Protagoras shows that *Aἰδώς* and *Δίκη* are necessary to political association, and that all men therefore who

associate in communities are equipped equally with these fundamentals of political virtue. He supports the conclusion of the myth by noticing how, in the matter of flute-playing, a man is thought mad if he professes to be good at it when he is not, whereas in the matter of justice a man is thought mad if he says he is unjust when he actually is so. The reason for the anomaly must be that everyone is not naturally a flute-player, whereas everyone is naturally just. He thus reasserts the democratic principle which Socrates had declared to be incompatible with the teaching of virtue.

He proceeds to prove from a consideration of the theory of punishment that the teachability of virtue is also recognized by the Athenians. Men are not punished by the city when they are bad by chance or nature, but when they are so by their own fault. It must then be recognized that they are unjust by their own fault and that virtue is teachable. In conclusion of this part of the argument he asserts (324 c): 'thus I have shown that your fellow-citizens have good reason for admitting a smith's or a cobbler's counsel in public affairs, *and that they hold virtue to be taught and procured: of this I have given you satisfactory demonstration as it seems to me.*'

The argument is all very well; but it must be realized that it is based entirely on the ambiguity of the phrase *ἀγαθούς πολίτας*. Protagoras had said originally that he taught *εὐθουλία* in public affairs 'so that his pupil might exert the full power of his personality in action and in speech' (319 a). But the 'political virtue' about which he has latterly been arguing is not 'being good at politics' but good citizenship, the sense of responsibility a man feels as a member of a state (*αιδώς, δίκη, δικαιοσύνη*). The principle of the Cleisthenic democracy, in which every citizen had in theory an equal chance of the highest offices of state, was that no one was better qualified than anyone else by breeding, intellectual power, or specific training, to direct public policy. Protagoras professed to train leaders: and there is no doubt that he was subverting the Cleisthenic democracy. He shelters, with an adroitness worthy of the first of the 'sophists', under the ambiguity of a phrase.

The two meanings of 'political virtue' continue to be confused in the second part of the argument (324 d-328 d).

Turning to the assertion of Socrates that the 'wisest and best' of the citizens are not able to hand on to others this virtue which they possess, Protagoras appeals to Socrates to reflect 'whether or not there is one thing which all citizens must possess if there is to be a city'. If such a thing exists and is 'justice and prudence and observance of religion', then it is ridiculous to suppose that good men do not teach it to their sons. The child, as soon as ever it can understand speech, is instructed by mother, father, nurse, pedagogue, in these very things, by force if necessary. Next, the boy is sent to school, where he learns *εὐκομψία*; and to the trainer so that his body may not fail his *χρηστή διάνοια*. This education is given to their children by those who are best able to do so, *and those are best able who are the richest*. When the young man leaves his teachers he comes under the direct influence of the city, which compels him to observe the laws. These, laid down by the good lawgivers of old, are a guide for his inexperienced steps: according to them he must rule and be ruled. As to the assertion that good men's sons turn out badly, Protagoras replies that they may be bad compared with the good, but they will be good compared with Pherecrates's *ἄγριοι*, savages living in no community. There must be an innate substratum of 'political virtue' on which the educator can build. This substratum is common to all members of a state: it may, however, be improved and increased by education.

Throughout the greater part of the latter argument, Protagoras is using 'political virtue' in the sense of 'good citizenship'; but it must be remembered that he sets out to show that 'the wisest and best' of the citizens, e.g. Pericles, do transmit their virtue to their sons; and it is very telling when he asserts that the richest parents can give their sons the best education, and so enable them to achieve the highest

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degree of political virtue. The virtue of a Pericles was not a high sense of public duty but 'being good at politics', the ability to lead; and when he says that the richest people have the highest degree of political virtue, he can only be explaining how such people come to occupy leading positions in the state.

We may infer from the arguments which Protagoras uses that he taught 'good citizenship', propounding a doctrine of the state based on an evolutionary theory of human society. This evolutionary theory was probably inherited by him from the materialistic thought of the Ionian cities. The seventh and eighth chapters of the first book of Diodorus contain an account of cosmology, of the development of living creatures, and of the rise of civilization which, to judge from its physical theories, must derive from a pre-Atomistic Ionian source.<sup>1</sup> The account of the rise of civilization bears strong resemblances to the myth of Protagoras:

*Diodorus i. 8.*

§ 1. The primitive state of man: *ἄτακτος καὶ θηριώδης βίος*: they lived separately (*σποράδην*), feeding on herbs and the fruit of wild trees.

2. The first association of man with

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, i. 7: Analysis:

§§ 1-2 Cosmogony.

(a) First Stage: Heaven and Earth were one form, their 'physis' being intermingled.

(b) Second Stage: the 'bodies' separated out, the general effect being that 'the universe took on the ordered form in which it is now seen'; the particular effect that:

i. the air set up a continual motion;

ii. the fiery part of the cosmos ran together towards the highest regions (the moving force is inverted gravity: 'by reason of its lightness');

iii. 'all that was mud-like and thick and had an admixture of water sank because of its weight into one place';

iv. 'this being continually turned about upon itself and compressed' separated into sea and land.

§§ 3-6 Zoogony.

As the sun dried the earth, the surface becoming fermented by the heat, 'portions of the wet swelled up in masses in many places, and, in these, pustules (*ογκεδόνες*) covered with delicate membranes made their appearance. . . . And the wet being impregnated with life by the heat in the manner described, the living things forthwith received their nourishment by night from the mist which fell from the enveloping air, and by day were made solid by the heat.' Finally all forms of animal life were produced, which went to their respective places according to the amount of each element within them. When the earth's crust became too hard, this process of spontaneous generation ceased.

Reinhardt (*Hekataeus von Abdera und Demokritus*, *Hermes*, 1912, pp. 492 ff.) rightly

*Protagoras, 321 c ff.*

When man, last of the creatures, emerged from the earth, Prometheus 'in perplexity as to what means of preservation he could devise for man' stole from Heaven 'wisdom in the arts together with fire'. Thus man acquired wisdom

observed that these sections are not Epicurean but go back to Hecataeus of Abdera in common with the later chapters (10 ff.): he concluded that they contain the doctrine of Democritus. Dahlmann (*De philosoph. graec. sententiis ad loquellae originem pertinentibus*: Diss. Lips. 1928, pp. 23 ff.) argues against this attribution: his main contention, with which I agree, is that it is impossible that a cosmology which exhibits not the slightest trace of Atomistic doctrine (the 'bodies', *σώματα*, of § 1 are no more Atomistic than the *μέρη* of Empedocles) should be Democritean: it must then be pre-Atomistic. This conclusion is confirmed by the remarkable resemblance between the second stage of the Diodorian cosmogony and the description of Chaos in the *Timaeus* (52 d ff.), which, as Cornford (*Plato's Cosmology*, pp. 198 ff.) points out, is certainly pre-Atomistic. The next stage in the *Timaeus* is the intervention of the demigod, who takes over Chaos and begins to give the elements 'distinct configurations by means of shapes and numbers': the Diodorian cosmogony continues to be purely mechanical. Plato only uses the materialistic account as a foundation for his idealistic superstructure: Diodorus sets out the materialistic theory itself.

The Diodorian zoogony recalls the famous theory of Anaximander (*Aëtius*, v. 19. 4: cf. Censorinus, 4. 7) that 'the first living creatures were engendered in the wet element enclosed in spiny membranes': and it is likely that Diogenes of Apollonia propounded a similar doctrine, since Aristophanes, who attributes to the scientists of the Socratic *phrontisterion* other theories of Diogenes, calls them *γηγενεῖς* (*Clouds*, 853).

## Diodorus i. 8.

man: dictated by expediency. πολεμούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἀλλήλους βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος διδασκομένονς, ἀθροίζομένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐπιγνώσκειν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν τοὺς ἀλλήλων τύπους.

3-4. Beginning of language and the reason for its differences.

5-6. Miserable existence of these men, without the use of fire, houses, or cultivated food: many of them died in winter through cold and hunger.

7-8. The process towards civilization from this stage is a tale of the slow achievement of each step under the guidance of πείρα. ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας διδασκόμενοι (1) they find shelter in caves, (2) they store food, (3) they find fire and 'other useful things'. Hence (4) κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ τὰς τέχνας εὑρεθῆναι καὶ τάλλα τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν κονὸν βίον ὀφελῆσαι (i.e. city life, laws, etc.).

9. Conclusion. 'In fine, in all things necessity herself was man's teacher, supplying in appropriate fashion instruction in every matter to a creature which was well endowed by nature and had as its assistants for every purpose hands and speech and a ready intelligence.'

There is often a striking similarity in phrasing between the accounts in Diodorus and Protagoras,<sup>3</sup> and it is clear that the two use the same elements, if the mythological form of Protagoras's story requires him to arrange them in a different order, and to replace the mechanical forces of Necessity and Trial-and-error (ἀνάγκη and πείρα) by Prometheus and Zeus. We can then with confidence identify the evolutionary element in Protagoras's political thought as his inheritance from Ionian materialism. The idea that mutual respect is the foundation of city life is a commonplace in the political thought of the time.<sup>4</sup> To these theories of the genesis and nature of society Protagoras seems to have added a theory of government and social progress

<sup>1</sup> The close connexion of the anthropology with the cosmogony and zoogony is shown by the similar process of evolution of types by the action of the 'like-to-like' principle in all three.

<sup>2</sup> I use, with slight alterations, Lamb's translation (Loeb).

<sup>3</sup> πολεμεῖσθαι D., πόλεμος P.: of war with wild beasts. Both use ἀθροίζεσθαι of association, and διαφροῦν of the articulation of speech: also the word οποράδην of the existence of primitive man.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Anonymus Iamblichus, Diels<sup>5</sup>, 89. 3. 6:

## Protagoras, 321c ff.

of daily life, but not the political art. He worshipped the gods, and 'was soon enabled by his skill to articulate speech and to invent dwellings, clothes, sandals, beds, and foods from the earth'. But since he had no cities, he was destroyed by the wild beasts.

'So they sought to bind themselves together and secure their lives by founding cities. Now as often as they were banded together they did wrong to one another through the lack of civic art, and thus they began to be scattered again and perish. So Zeus fearing that our race was in danger of utter destruction sent Hermes to bring *Aidos* and *Dike* among men, to the end that there should be regulation of cities and friendly ties to draw them together.'<sup>1</sup> Then Hermes asked Zeus in what manner he was to give men *Dike* and *Aidos*: 'Am I to deal them out as the arts have been dealt? . . . Am I to place among men *Dike* and *Aidos* in this way also, or deal them out to all?' 'To all', replied Zeus; 'let all have their share; for cities cannot be formed if only a few have a share of these as of other arts. And make a law of my ordaining, that he who cannot partake of *Aidos* and *Dike* shall die the death as a public pest.'<sup>2</sup>

τοῦτο γάρ [τὸ δίκαιον] τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ συνοικίζειν καὶ τὸ συνέχειν [εἶναι]. Democritus, Diels<sup>5</sup>, 68 B. 252: 'A man must rate the good order of his city as the highest political aim, not indulging in rivalry beyond what is seemly nor making himself powerful to the prejudice of the common good' (a good definition of *aidos* and *dike*). 'For a well ordered city is the greatest human achievement: in it all is embraced; and while it is preserved all is preserved, and when it perishes all perishes.'

through qualified leaders which is in very close connexion with his conception of the place of education in the state.

The *Theaetetus* gives a more detailed account of Protagoras's theory of political leadership.

The question has been asked (161 e), how, if man is the measure of his own knowledge, as Protagoras himself says, Protagoras can set up to be wiser than others. Socrates puts the following defence in the mouth of the sophist, which, it is particularly emphasized (166 c), is that which Protagoras would have made if he had been alive (166 d-167 c). 'For<sup>1</sup> I do indeed assert that the truth is as I have written: each one of us is a measure of what is and what is not: but there is all the difference in the world between one man and another just in the very fact that what is and appears to one is different from what is and appears to the other. . . . By a wise man I mean precisely a man who can change any one of us, when what is bad appears and is to him, and make what is good appear and be to him. . . .' A man is able to make another have good opinions by implanting in him a good *έξις* of the soul. Doctors and husbandmen are both examples of wise men: they implant good *έξις* in the objects of their care. 'And moreover I assert that wise and honest statesmen substitute in the community sound for unsound views of what is right. For I hold that whatever practices seem right and laudable to any particular state are so for that state, so long as it holds by them. Only, when the practices are, in any particular case, unsound for them, the wise man substitutes others that are and appear sound.'

The constant changing of laws in the democratic state had seemed to some<sup>2</sup> to detract from their 'seriousness', i.e. their superhuman quality.<sup>3</sup> Protagoras restores this quality by regarding them as the expression of the mass-mind of the body politic, which is superhuman in the sense that it is an entity greater than the sum of its human parts. The right activity of the statesman is clearly set forth: it is to guide, improve, and, presumably, implement the common purpose of the city. His function is the same as that which 'the good lawgivers of old' of the *Protagoras* (326 d) performed.

We may now turn from the theory of Protagoras that the state is best governed if its leaders are those who, being the richest, have the best opportunity of becoming wise and thus of possessing that knowledge which puts them in the same relation to the city as the sophist to his pupils, the doctor to the sick, and the husbandman to his plants; and proceed to consider the political circumstances at Athens which attended its formulation.

### III

'It is the *strategia* that gives to the Athenian democracy in the latter half of the fifth century its peculiar character. The institution of the *strategia* is sometimes regarded as marking a stage in the development of the democracy. If by this it is meant that it marks a stage in the development of the democratic principle in the constitution, nothing could be further from the truth. The *strategia* was the non-democratic element in the constitution, and it was the substitution of the *strategia* for the archonship as the chief executive office that strengthened the aristocratic and conservative influences in the state. . . . What is of still more moment is that it was the *strategia* that gave the opportunity for one-man power in the democratic constitution. . . . It is hardly too much to say that, if Athens created, organized, and held a great empire, it was in virtue of the undemocratic principle contained in the democratic constitution.'<sup>4</sup>

The growth in importance of the board of generals and in particular the virtual

<sup>1</sup> I use Professor Cornford's translation: *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, p. 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Hippias in Xen. *Memor*. IV. iv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Soph. *O.T.* 865 f.: *νόμοις θείοις, οὐρανίαις*  
*δι' αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες.*

<sup>4</sup> E. M. Walker, *C.A.H.* iv, p. 155.

domination of Athenian public life by Pericles during the twenty years which preceded the Archidamian war had led to a new theory of the principle of government. The Cleisthenic theory had been that the city's will would be done if an indiscriminate selection of the equal people ruled in turn. On the new theory, the people, still holding the supreme power in its hands, is advised and led by the men who are most suited for leadership by talent and position.<sup>1</sup> This theory is certainly undemocratic in the Cleisthenic sense; but it would be rash to say that the people was any less powerful under Pericles than it was before: it is rather that the means of exercise of popular power had changed, either to meet new conditions, or because the Cleisthenic theory had proved unsatisfactory in practice. Pericles, giving an analysis of the Athenian democracy in the funeral speech (Thuc. ii. 37. 1), stresses the equal chance all have of exhibiting their merit, but omits entirely any mention of the principle of sortition.

The constitutional debate in the third book of Herodotus is part of 'the Persian history' which has been shown by Powell<sup>2</sup> to have been composed, and probably published, at Athens between 448 and 442 B.C., i.e. during the first period of Pericles's ascendancy and when Protagoras had already been some years in Athens. The seven Persian nobles who had liberated Persia from the Magi take council together as to which of the three constitutional forms, democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, is the best (iii. 80 ff.). The debate is plainly designed to lay the Athenian public by the ears; it dramatizes the constitutional struggle which was being fought out at Athens in the first decade of the second half of the fifth century between the supporters of the Cleisthenic democracy, the oligarchical party under the leadership of Thucydides son of Melesias, and the supporters of Pericles.

Otanes (80. 2) advises *ἐς μέσον Πέρσης καταθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα*. He condemns monarchy on the ground that even the best of men, elevated to that position, cannot remain unchanged. He must fall a victim to two vices, *Hybris* and *Phthonos*, and will inevitably turn out a tyrant. The rule of the people, on the other hand, avoids the danger of tyranny: 'it has the fairest of all names, *Isonomia*'. Otanes characterizes popular rule thus: *πάλω μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἄρχην ἔχει, βουλεύματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει*. The first place given to sortition shows that it is the Cleisthenic type of democracy which he champions.

Megabyxus (81. 1) favours oligarchy. He sympathizes with the desire of Otanes to avoid tyranny, but takes a very different view of the qualification of the people to rule: 'nothing', he says, 'is more unintelligent and full of *Hybris* than the useless mob. . . . Whatever the tyrant does he does with a policy, but the people are not even able to devise a policy; how could they, who have no education nor have seen for themselves what is best, but rush through their measures with blind precipitancy like a river in spate?' Rather 'let us choose a company of the best men and invest them with the power: for we ourselves shall be of this number and the decisions of the best men are naturally the best'. Megabyxus puts the selfish and bigoted point of view of an aristocracy in retreat. Theognis<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of the fifth century and the anonymous author of the *Constitution of Athens*<sup>4</sup> at the end exhibit the same attitude. It is reasonable to attribute it also to the party of Thucydides.

Darius (82) speaks last in support of monarchy. He agrees with Megabyxus's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. [Xen.] 'Αθ. πολ. i. 3: οὐτε τῶν στρατηγῶν κληρῷ οἰονται σφισι χρήναι μετεῖναι οὐτε τῶν ιππαρχῶν—γυργάσκει γάρ ο δῆμος ὅτι πλείω ὀφελεῖται έν τῷ μὴ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ταύτας τὰς ἄρχας ἀλλ' έν τούς δυνατωτάτους ἄρχειν.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. 34, 43.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. i. 5: έστι δὲ πάσῃ γῇ τὸ βελτιστὸν ἐναντίον

τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ: έν γὰρ τοῖς βελτίστοις ένι ἀκολασίᾳ τε ὀλγιστη καὶ ἀδικίᾳ, ἀκρίβεια δὲ πλειστη εἰς τὰ χρηστά, έν δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ ἀμαθία τε πλειστη καὶ ἀταξία καὶ πονηρία, ανδ 9: εἰ δὲ εὐνομίαν ἔηταις, . . . κολάσουσιν οἱ χρηστοί τούς πονηρούς . . . καὶ οὐκ ἔστοι μανομένους ἀνθρώπους βουλεύειν οὐδὲ λέγειν.

criticism of popular rule. Nothing, however, he asserts, could be better than the one best man; who, being best also in intellectual ability, 'would be a blameless guardian of the people's interest (*ἐπιτροπένοι ἀν ἀμαρτήτων τοῦ πλήθεος*)', and whose head would be the safest repository of the plans for the defeat of the city's enemies. He argues that oligarchy, where many are rivalling each other in the exercise of virtue, leads in the end to faction, which results in monarchy. Democracy leads not to rivalry in the practice of virtue, but to conspiracy in the practice of wickedness: *τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐσ ὁ ἀν προστάτης της τοῦ δῆμου τοὺς τοιούτους πανόρη*. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, θωμαζόμενος δὲ ἀν' ὅν εὐφάντη μούναρχος ἐών. The majority of the seven decide in favour of monarchy.

The arguments of Darius in favour of a *monarchos* follow very closely the arguments which must have been used to justify the ascendancy of Pericles. Efficient administration demands the elevation of the best man to the highest post, and in time of war this is more necessary than ever. Darius's description of the evolution of monarchy from democracy describes exactly the rise of Pericles. The *monarchos* is the popular champion whose first duty is to put a stop to the corruption and inefficiency of popular government: he becomes the idol of the people, and this idolization puts him finally in supreme control. When Otanes suggests as a method of selecting the *monarchos*, besides the lot, which is obviously unacceptable to the supporters of oligarchy and monarchy alike, also the course of submitting to the popular vote of the Persians, it can hardly be doubted that Herodotus has Pericles in mind. It is to be noted that the *monarchos* of Darius exercises the powers which he derives from the people entirely in their interest: there is no question of his becoming a tyrant: being the best man he will govern blamelessly. He is then in all respects similar to the 'wise and honest statesman' of Protagoras. We may suspect that Herodotus derived the material of Darius's speech from Protagoras, and that the position of the latter in the circle of Pericles was due to his ability to provide a theoretical backing to the practice of the Periclean democracy.

Otanes had condemned monarchy on the ground that, however good a man may be, he is bound to be corrupted by it. Sophocles presents in the *Antigone*, which was produced in the spring of 441, a picture of a ruler who in spite of the best initial professions soon acts and speaks like the worst of tyrants. There is much in the play to suggest that the dramatist knew and used the theories of Protagoras.

Creon, who, incidentally, is called *ὁ στρατηγός* by Antigone in the opening speech (8), has proclaimed in the assembly of the people (*πανδῆμω πόλει*) the dishonouring of the dead Polynices, threatening *φόνον δημόσενον ἐν πόλει* for any who disobeys (36); and Ismene represents Antigone's proposed disobedience as *βίᾳ πολιτῶν δρᾶν* as well as contrary to the *ψῆφος* of the ruler (60, 79). She assumes, as Creon himself presumably believes, that he is performing the will of the city. Creon's first speech (160-210) is a proclamation of the principles on which his rule will be based, fearless prosecution of *ἄριστα βουλεύματα* (the superlative of *εὐβουλία*) and subjection of private ties to the good of the state. He emphasizes particularly the supremacy of the claims of *πάτρα*. Following these principles and in spite of some opposition, he has deprived Polynices of burial. When the ceremonial interment is discovered, the chorus suggest that it was 'wrought by the gods' (278). At this Creon is outraged: *λέγεις γάρ οὐκ ἀνεκρά, δαιμόνας λέγων πρόνοιαν ἴσχεν τοῦδε τοῦ νεκροῦ πέρι*: Polynices made war against the land and its gods, who must then be hostile to him. Creon is blind to the possibility that the gods, if they are, as he believes them, purely national deities expressing, as it were, the unity and purpose of the city, may yet be against him if he is not acting in harmony with the city's will. It is remarkable that a scene in which the dramatist has appeared to be aware of Protagoras's theories should conclude with a chorus (332-83) celebrating the achievements of mankind. At the climax of the account

stands the development of *ἀστυνόμοις ὄργαί* (equivalent to *αιδώς*, *δίκη*): the chorus concludes (369) 'honouring the laws of his land and justice . . . he stands high in his city (*νήπιολις*); unsociable (*ἄπολις*), when that which is not good is his companion by reason of his recklessness' (*τόλμα*, the opposite of *αιδώς*).

When the perpetrator of the forbidden act is discovered to be Antigone and she is brought before Creon, she claims (450 ff.) that his proclamation proceeds not from Zeus or Dike, asserting her allegiance to 'the unwritten, steadfast decrees of the gods'; and she alleges that the city is on her side (509). If the city is on her side, then Creon has ceased to be its leader in the Protagorean sense, one who expresses its will: this role has devolved upon Antigone, who, in the words of Creon himself, has not been afraid to pursue *ἄριστα βουλεύματα*. Creon is become a leader in the repressive sense, a tyrant. That he has the mind of a tyrant soon becomes evident. To his son, in whose presence he does not have to mince his words, he declares (666 f.):

ἀλλ' ὁ πόλις στήσει τοῦδε χρή κλύειν  
καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τάνατοι.

He does not realize that election does not confer on him the authority of the city once and for all: he retains it only so long as he remains sensitive to its wishes. In an interchange with Haemon later (734 ff.) his notions of rulership stand fully revealed:

KP. πόλις γάρ ήμιν ἀμέ χρή τάσσειν ἔρει;  
AI. ὄργας τόδ' ὡς εἴρηκας ὡς ἄγαν νέος;  
KP. ἀλλω γάρ η 'μοὶ χρή με τῆσδ' ἄρχειν χθονός;  
AI. πόλις γάρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἡτις ἀνδρός ἔσθ' ἐνός.  
KP. οὐ τοῦ κρατοῦντος η πόλις νομίζεται;

Tiresias (998 ff.) makes an attempt to persuade Creon to be wise, reconsider his decision, and give burial to Polynices: when Creon charges him with corruption, he observes (1048 and 1050):

ἀρ' οὐδεν ἀνθρώπων τις, δρα φράζεται . . .  
ὅσῳ κράτιστον κτημάτων εὐθουλίᾳ;

Lack of wisdom is Creon's fault: and this is emphasized by the messenger who announces the catastrophe. Haemon lies dead,

δεῖξας ἐν ἀνθρώπουσι τὴν ἀβουλίαν  
ὅσῳ μέγιστον ἀνδρὶ πρόσκειται κακόν (1242 f.).

Creon himself admits it (1265 ff.): *ἄμοι ἐμῶν ἀνολβα βουλευμάτων . . . ἔθανες . . . ἐμαῖς οὐδὲ σαῖσι δυνοβουλίαις*. When the chorus comments (1270) *οἴμ' ὡς ἔσικας οὐθὲ τὴν δίκην ἰδεῖν*, it must be concluded that justice in a ruler is equivalent to the dictates of *εὐθουλία*.

The moral of the *Antigone* appears to be that rulers should take lessons of Protagoras. Creon's tragedy has arisen from his misconception of the nature of rulership. Tyranny does not arise from the wickedness of rulers but only from their ignorance. This is a complete answer to the objection made by Otanes to the rule of a single man, and it is an answer worthy of a great educator like Protagoras. Without education a man is perhaps unequal to the strain which despotism puts upon his character: but once he has learnt the true nature of leadership, power will offer no temptations. The Athenians, who observed that their leader Pericles was a pupil of Protagoras, must have found comfort in Sophocles's play: and that is doubtless what they were meant to find.

#### IV

Pericles died in 429, and his policy was reversed at the conclusion of peace by the oligarchical party in 421. What reason had Protagoras then for returning to Athens

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in 422? The answer to this question lies, I believe, in the ambitions of Alcibiades. An Alcmaeonid and the ward of Pericles, he would have been only true to his birth and upbringing if he aimed at securing for himself the position of *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου*: and there must have been those who in view of his outstanding personality and brilliant parts had marked him down for that career, and who saw in the renewal of the aristocratic leadership of a Pericles a method of terminating the plebeian demagogacy of a Cleon. The death of Cleon in 422 left the field clear for Alcibiades. After a false start, in which his attempt to take the lead in the peace negotiations with Sparta had met with a rebuff, he settled down to work against the peace and in favour of an alliance with Mantinea and Argos. In 420 he was elected general.

The *Supplices* of Euripides has, on the ground of its plot, been dated in the period immediately succeeding the peace. The mothers of the heroes killed in the unsuccessful attempt of Adrastus, king of Argos, to restore Polynices to Thebes come as suppliants to Theseus, king of Athens. They ask him to help them recover their dead from Creon. Theseus at first refuses; but yielding at last to the persuasion of his mother secures the surrender of the dead after he has defeated the Thebans in battle. Adrastus promises undying gratitude from Argos to Athens; and Athena bids Theseus not to let him go until he has sworn that Argos will never invade Attica or allow others to invade it.

There can be little doubt that the play is intended to further the Argive-Athenian alliance for which Alcibiades was working. In it can also be found propaganda in favour of a democracy guided by a noble leader. It is strongly emphasized that the rule of Theseus was no tyranny: replying to Creon's herald, who has inquired for the tyrant of the city, Theseus declares (403 ff.) that he was wrong in asking for a tyrant in Athens: 'for the city is not ruled by a single man but is free: the people is the master through its yearly successions in office turn and turn about'. On the other hand, Adrastus says to Theseus (188 ff.): 'Your city alone could undertake this task; for she can sympathize with us and has in you a young and noble shepherd, for the want of which many cities have perished lacking a leader (*ἐνδεεῖς στρατηλάτον*).'<sup>1</sup> The purpose of the word *νεανίας* can hardly have been other than to turn the thoughts of the audience to Alcibiades, when the whole play stresses the traditional friendship of Argos for Athens which he was working to renew.

There are in the play other passages which recall the doctrines of Protagoras. Theseus remarks that Adrastus in leading the expedition to Thebes followed *εὐψυχία* rather than *εὐβούλία*: a course, Adrastus adds, which has been the downfall of many a leader (161 f.). Adrastus concludes his panegyric on the dead heroes with the words (909 ff.): 'After what I have said, Theseus, do not wonder that these dared to die before Thebes. For good upbringing gives *Aidos*, and every man who has been trained in what is good is ashamed to be a coward. Manliness is teachable: for is not a child taught to speak and understand things of which it has no knowledge? Whatever a man learns, that he preserves all his life. So educate your children well.' In his reply to the first request of Adrastus for aid, Theseus argues in favour of a divine providence against an opponent who had denied it. His speech (195 ff.) takes the form of a relation of the blessings bestowed upon man by the god who brought him out of his first beast-like condition. The traditional atheism of Protagoras need not stand in the way of our attribution of a speech in defence of *πρόνοια θεοῦ* to his influence. The history of civilization could be regarded as teleological either in a scientific or religious sense: and the two senses merge into each other as the philosopher identifies the purpose of nature with God. By a fortunate chance a direct connexion can be found between the conception of *πρόνοια θεοῦ* and the myth of the *Protagoras*. Nestle<sup>1</sup> noted the correspondence between *Protagoras*, 321 b, and Herodotus, iii. 108:

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus*, lxvii, 1908, p. 533.

Prot. 321 b.

ἔστι δὲ οἰς ἔδωκεν (Epimetheus) εἶναι τροφὴν ζώων ἀλλων θοράν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὀλυγογονίας προσῆψε, τοῖς δὲ ἀναλισκόμενοις ὑπὸ τούτων πολυγονίαν σωτηρίαν τῷ γένει πορίζων.

Hdt. iii. 108.

καὶ καὶ τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἔστι, ἐσῶνα σόφη, ὅσα μὲν φυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἔδωδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονοι πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλέπῃ κατεσθόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηρά, δημόγονα.

In the myth which Plato attributes to Protagoras the foresight is not of God but of Epimetheus; but Protagoras may actually have spoken of *πρόνοια θεοῦ*. If we are right in supposing that Herodotus used Protagorean doctrine in the constitutional debate earlier in Book III, it seems reasonable to infer that he also relied on him later: this is a simpler hypothesis than to suppose that Herodotus and the myth depend on a common source. This philosophical God, like Plato's demigurge, has nothing whatever to do with 'the gods' about whom Protagoras professed he knew nothing<sup>1</sup> and whose existence or non-existence he expressly refused to discuss in his speeches and writings.<sup>2</sup>

It can hardly be a chance that Protagorean philosophical matter, in particular the doctrine of the led democracy, and a plot emphasizing the traditional friendship of Argos and Athens are to be found in the same play. When we know that Protagoras returned to Athens in 422, the conclusion is almost certain that he came to support and advise Alcibiades in his attempt to emulate the career of Pericles.

The attempt was a failure. Alcibiades's Peloponnesian policy received a set-back in the events which led up to the Spartan victory at Mantinea; and Sparta threatened to invade Attica. This was enough to put the peace-party back into power; and Alcibiades was defeated in the elections for the *strategia* in 418. It may have been in this year that Pythodorus struck at Protagoras; or the oligarchical peace-party may have waited until Alcibiades's disgrace in 415. Whatever the accusation was that caused him to leave Athens once more, it had no effect upon his reputation, since Plato can make Socrates say in 403<sup>3</sup> that the high esteem in which he was held during his life had remained undiminished since his death.

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\* 1 Diels<sup>1</sup>, B. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Theaetetus*, 162 d-e.

<sup>3</sup> *Meno*, 91 ε: in an article, *Meno of Pharsalus*,

which it is hoped will shortly appear in the *C.Q.*  
I attempt to establish 403 as the dramatic date  
of the *Meno*.

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THE ASTROLOGY OF P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS

(Lucan I, 649-65)

quod cladis genus, o superi, qua peste paratis  
saeuitiam? extremi multorum tempus in unum  
conuenere dies. summo si frigida caelo  
stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignes,  
Deucalioneos fudisset Aquarius imbræ  
totaque diffuso latuisset in aequore tellus.

650

si saeum radiis Nemeaeum, Phoebe, Leonem  
nunc premeres, toto fluerent incendia mundo  
succensusque tuis flagrasset curribus aether.  
hi cessant ignes. tu, qui flagrante minacem  
Scorpius incendis cauda chelasque peruris,  
quid tantum, Gradiue, paras? nam mitis in alto  
Iuppiter occasu premitur, Venerisque salubre  
sidus hebet, motuque celer Cyllenus haeret,  
et caelum Mars solus habet. cur signa meatus  
deseruere suos mundoque obscura feruntur,  
ensiferi nimium fulget latus Orionis?

655

660

665

No sooner had Pompey and the Senate fled in terror from Rome before Caesar's approach than the fears of those who remained in the city were heightened by new portents.<sup>1</sup> The Etruscan soothsayer, Arruns, who was called in by the frightened townspeople to discover the will of the gods, proceeded to give such instructions as might be expected from one of his profession, and then, on sacrificing a bull, found that the omens were unfavourable. As if this were not enough, at v. 639 the famous Neopythagorean scholar and friend of Cicero, P. Nigidius Figulus, appeared in order to consult the skies, for, as Lucan observes, he was in advance of even the Egyptians in his knowledge of astrology.<sup>2</sup> He began by remarking that, if this science meant anything at all, considerable trouble was in store for the Romans; and then went on in vv. 651-65 to reveal what he saw when he looked at the heavens, expressing his meaning in words which, apart from a couple of technical expressions, may be immediately translated with some incidental interpretations as follows:

'If the cold baneful planet Saturn were kindling his black fires *summo caelo*' (the inference, of course, is that he was not doing so), 'a flood like that of Deucalion would have been pouring from Aquarius' (or, because Aquarius is sometimes identified with Deucalion,<sup>3</sup> the meaning may be 'Aquarius would have been pouring out such a flood as could be expected from him') 'and the entire land would have been hidden in the spreading expanse of water. If the Sun were now passing over the Nemean Lion (Leo) and goading him to fury with his rays' (again he was not doing so) 'conflagrations would be streaming all over the world, and the ether would have been kindled into flames by his chariot. <But> these heavenly bodies are inactive and their flames are still. What great <terror> is being prepared by Mars? He is setting fire to the Scorpius and making it threaten <war><sup>4</sup> with glowing tail,

<sup>1</sup> vv. 522-5 'tum, nequa futuri | spes saltem  
trepidas mentes leuet, addita fati | peioris mani-  
festa fides, superique minaces | prodigiis terras  
inplerunt, aethera, pontum.'

<sup>2</sup> vv. 640-1 'quem non stellarum Aegyptia

4599.4

Memphis | aequaret uisu numerisque sequentibus  
(so Bentley, MSS. mouentibus) astra.'

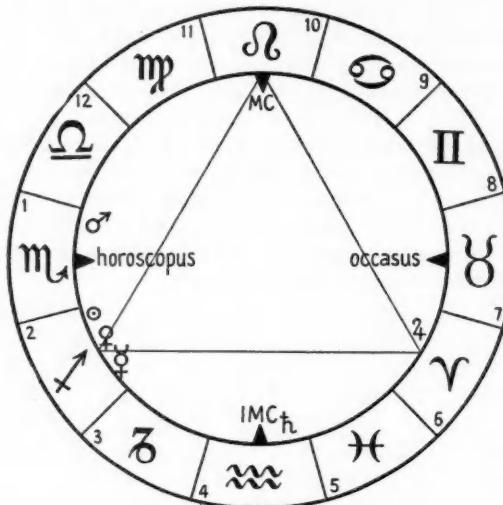
<sup>3</sup> Housman's *Astronomical Appendix* to his  
edition, p. 326.

<sup>4</sup> Mars was the guardian of Scorpio (Hous-

and he is burning up its claws. Yes, and gentle Jupiter keeps low *in alto occasu*, Venus's benignant planet is dim, swift Mercury is stationary in his orbit, and Mars is in sole possession of the sky.'

What follows in vv. 663-5 is due, as Housman remarks, merely to an atmospheric phenomenon and has no astrological significance.

The two expressions which have been temporarily left unexplained are *summum caelum* (v. 651) and *in alto occasu* (vv. 660-1). For the former Housman<sup>1</sup> says that there may be five meanings. He mentions three, rejecting those of 'the seventh heaven' and 'the meridian overhead', and accepting, with some little hesitation, 'that familiar fantasy, the *ūphora* or *altitudo* or exaltation of astrologers, a place in the zodiac where



the potency of a planet is augmented'. But Housman furnishes no parallel for *summum caelum* in the sense of *ūphora*, nor has any yet been produced; and the other two suggested meanings are not astrological. Regarding *in alto occasu* he remarks,<sup>2</sup> this time with more justification: 'The only natural or even possible sense of these words is that Jupiter was some distance below the western horizon', and he goes on to reject the notion<sup>3</sup> that the phrase can signify the *ταπείνωμα* or *deiectio* of the planet, i.e. 'the place in the zodiac where his potency suffers diminution'.

It is hard to see why Housman is inclined to accept *ūphora* for *summum caelum* and yet rejects *ταπείνωμα* for *altus occasus*. Oddly enough, the editor of Manilius has forgotten for the moment that *occasus* is a technical term in astrology, i.e. what he wrote on pp. xxvi ff. of the introduction to his edition of Manilius II has slipped from his mind. Here he distinguishes between the moving Zodiac, which is composed of the twelve signs, and the fixed band through which it appears to move, and which is called *οἱ δώδεκα τόποι* or *ἡ δωδεκάτροπος* because it is divided into twelve *τόποι* or *tempora*. The scheme of this dodecatropical arrangement, which is merely a figment of the astrologers, will be found on p. xxix of Housman's edition of Manilius II.<sup>4</sup>

man's edition of Manilius ii, p. xvi, and Manil.

2. 443 'pugnax Mauorti Scorpios haeret'). Cf.

id. 4. 217-21 'Scorpios armata uiolenta cuspide

cauda | . . . in bellum ardentes animos et Martia  
castra | efficit.'

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> See also Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris, 1899, p. 280.

The *occasus*, then, is the western *κέντρον* or cardinal point, where the *dodecatropos* is intersected by the horizon. Now the 7th temple may be called *occasus* because the *cardo* called *occasus* is situated within it,<sup>1</sup> and similarly Rhetorius Aegyptius<sup>2</sup> names it as *κέντρον δυτικόν*. But Lucan's expression is not merely *in occasu premitur*, which would mean 'below the horizon in the 7th temple', but *in alto occasu premitur*. Is this merely a tautology, or does Lucan mean something else by his *alto*?

*Alto*, of course, means in this passage 'well below the horizon', not 'well above it', as is clear not merely from *premitur* but also from the definite statement in v. 663 that Mars was the only planet above the horizon at the time. Now it may be submitted that, by a further extension of the meaning of the word, all three temples, namely 6, 7, and 8, were thought of as enclosing the *occasus*, and they might then be called loosely *occasus*. Manilius describes the 6th temple as *sedes iuncta sub occasu* and the 8th thus: *nec melior super occasus . . . sors agitur mundi*.<sup>3</sup> The Greek astrologers are even more explicit, and once again the evidence of Rhetorius Aegyptius is helpful. He speaks of the 6th temple or *τόπος* as follows: *δὲ ἔκτος τόπος καλέται φαῦλον ἀπόκλιμα καὶ πρόδνοις καὶ προκαταφορά καὶ μετακόσμος καὶ Κακὴ Τύχη*,<sup>4</sup> and the 8th temple or *τόπος* as *ἔπικατάδνοις*.<sup>5</sup> The important words here are *πρόδνοις* 'preceding the *δύοις*', and *ἔπικατάδνοις* 'following the *δύοις*' or 7th temple. Noteworthy, too, are the other titles which Rhetorius and his fellow astrologers apply to the 6th temple. *Απόκλιμα* means 'cadent place', *μετακόσμος* 'abysmal', and *προκαταφορά* 'that which falls down before (the 7th temple)'. Therefore, when Lucan says *altus occasus*, he must mean the 6th temple for the reasons which have just been given, and not for that adduced by Firmicus Maternus,<sup>6</sup> who says that it was one of the *quattuor loca* which *pigrum et deiecta esse dicuntur ob hoc, quod nulla cum horoscopo societate uerguntur*, the others being 1, 8, and 12.

Regarding *summum caelum* Housman again has forgotten the evidence of Manil. 2. 810-11, where the poet is describing the first of the four *cardines*, namely the MEDIUM CAELUM, as follows:

primus erit, *summi* qui regnat culmine *caeli*  
et *medium* tenui partitur limite *mundum*.

Here *medium mundum* is a variation of *summi caeli*, and the translation is: 'the first *cardo* will be that which reigns in the height of highest heaven, and divides the mid-sky by a slender line of demarcation'. Therefore *summum caelo* means 'in the 10th temple'.

According to Lucan, therefore, Saturn was not in the 10th temple, the Sun was not in Leo, Mars was in Scorpio and incidentally the only planet above the horizon, Jupiter was in the 6th temple, Venus was dim or obscured and Mercury was stationary. In my edition of Lucan I<sup>7</sup> *hebet* and *haeret* (v. 662) are explained as meaning that Venus was near the Sun and probably in superior conjunction, and that Mercury was on one of his two stationary points. The two immediate tasks here are to show (a) where the Sun and Saturn were, and (b) to relate the zodiacal to the dodecatropical system; for some of the data refer to the signs of the zodiac, others to the temples of the fixed *dodecatropos*. If the moving zodiac can be accommodated to the fixed *dodecatropos*, then the time of day when Figulus made his observations is known approximately. All this and considerably more can be inferred from the details which the poet furnishes.

Where was the Sun? A probable date for Figulus's consultation of the skies is, as Housman<sup>8</sup> indicates, 17 January, 49 B.C., which answers to 28 November, 50 B.C.,

<sup>1</sup> Manil. 2. 948 'unus in occasu locus est super'.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. Cod. Astr. Graec.*, vol. viii, pt. iv, Brussels, 1921, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> 2. 867-8, 871-2.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> *Math.* 2. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge, 1940.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., pp. 325-6.

when the Sun was in 4° of Sagittarius. Lucan must have been astronomer enough to know this very elementary fact, and he should be credited with that knowledge. But the position of Sagittarius among the temples of the *dodecatropos* has to be established.

Mars was in Scorpio and above the horizon, and the Sun was in Sagittarius and, like the other planets, below the horizon. Therefore, as Sagittarius is the sign of the zodiac next to Scorpio, Scorpio must either have just risen above the horizon or have been in the act of doing so. Now let the reader forget, as the ancient astrologers often did, the troublesome fact, which is due to the obliquity of the ecliptic, that the risings and settings of the signs are unequal.<sup>1</sup> To do this is in the interest of convenience and simplicity, and therefore it can be assumed that Lucan was thinking of one complete sign occupying one complete temple. This assumption is often made when our ancient authorities wish to avoid complications: thus Sextus Empiricus<sup>2</sup> observes: 'an example will make this clear. For instance, when Cancer is in the horoscope (i.e. in the 1st temple), Aries is in MEDIUM CAELUM (i.e. in the 10th), Capricorn is in *occasus* (i.e. in the 7th) and Libra is in *IMUM CAELUM* (i.e. in the 4th)'.

Therefore it may be granted for the sake of convenience that Scorpio was in the 1st temple, which would enable Mars to be situated above the horizon in the part of that sign which had already risen. The Sun now appears in the 2nd, and Jupiter is discovered in Aries, as may be seen from reference to the diagram. Similarly, the position of the rest of the signs can be understood at once. Figulus, therefore, took his observations about an hour before sunrise.

To return to Saturn. Lucan says clearly that he was not in the 10th temple (Leo). What could be more natural than to assume that Lucan's imperfect subjunctive *accenderet* is *diametrically* contrary to fact, and that Saturn was straight across the way and in the opposite quarter, namely, the 4th temple and the sign Aquarius? From Manil. 2. 929-38<sup>3</sup> it is clear that he was at home in this temple, and incidentally Aquarius was his masculine house,<sup>4</sup> as was appropriate for a planet which was *frigida*.

It has been said that Mercury was on one of his two stationary points, i.e. he was *near* one of his angles of maximum elongation.<sup>5</sup> On account of the eccentricity of Mercury's orbit as well as of the earth's motion, the angles of maximum elongation of this planet range from 18° to 28°. If the Sun was in 4° of Sagittarius, he was only 19° distant from the horoscope, and therefore it is likely that Mercury was not above him. This, of course, may have been the case with Mercury accordingly 1° below the horizon, but, as the Sun was 26° from the border of Sagittarius and Capricornus, it is far more probable that Mercury was below him and still inside Sagittarius and the 2nd temple.

Why Lucan says that if Saturn had been in the 10th temple there would have been a cataclysm or *inundatio*, and that if the Sun had been in Leo the whole world would have been involved in a *conflagratio* or *έκπύρωσις*, is not clear. The nearest parallel is possibly Sen. *N.Q.* 3. 29. 1, where Berossus, who taught astrology at Cos in the time of Alexander the Great,<sup>6</sup> is quoted as assigning the conflagration to a time when the planets would all meet in Cancer, and the deluge to the moment when they would be united in Capricorn. Was Figulus thinking of Cancer rather than of Capricorn for the *inundatio*? If so, the time of his observations must be put back by perhaps half an hour, so that the last 7½ degrees of Cancer may be left in the 10th temple. Cancer cannot be moved back 15 degrees or half a sign to MC, for then the first point of

<sup>1</sup> See a careful discussion of this in Housman's edition of Manilius III, pp. xiii-xx.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted on pp. xxvii-xxviii of Housman's edition of Manilius II as follows: *οἶον* (έσται γὰρ σαφὲς ἐπὶ παραδείγματος) *Καρκίνου* ὠροσκοποῦντος μεσουρανεῖ μὲν *Κρίδος*, δύνει δὲ *Αἰγάλεωρως*, ἐπὸ γῆν

δέ ἐστι *Ζυγός* (πρὸς ἀστρ. 12 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. xxx.

<sup>4</sup> Firm. *Math.* 2. 2, 5, etc.

<sup>5</sup> See my edition of Lucan I (*cit. supra*), p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Vitruv. 9. 6. 2.

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<sup>4</sup> Id. 13

<sup>5</sup> Id. 2

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<sup>6</sup> Id.

Scorpio would have to be removed to the *horoscopus*, and there would be no chance for Mars to appear above the horizon. But, after all, Figulus does mention Leo, not Cancer, as the dangerous sign for a conflagration, and the argument need not be pressed further. He may have had no motive for selecting Leo other than that suggested by Housman:<sup>1</sup> 'Leo is the house of the Sun, and when he is at home, in July and August, we have the hottest weather. Lucan was astronomer enough to know that the Sun is not in Leo in the winter, and he could safely say that there would have been a general conflagration in a case which certainly did not occur.'

Now that Figulus's words present a clear picture of the configuration of the planets within the zodiac, and of the zodiac within the *dodecatropos* as probably seen by him, there emerge some additional features upon which an astrologer would seize as being particularly unfavourable.

Jupiter was in the 6th temple, which was that of Mala Fortuna and the abode of Mars.<sup>2</sup> Any planet which found itself in it borrowed powers for ill,<sup>3</sup> and in this connexion Firmicus Maternus mentions Jupiter specifically: 'in sexto loco Iuppiter ab horoscopo constitutus maxima mala decernit'. It was, therefore, a serious matter for even a planet whose stock epithet was *mitis* to be in the 6th temple.

Furthermore, had any planet of good omen, such as Venus, been in the 10th temple and therefore in trine aspect to Jupiter, the ill effect just mentioned might have been mitigated.<sup>4</sup> But no such planet was there to lessen Jupiter's evil influence. Similarly, the malignancy of Saturn in the same temple, had that planet been there, would have been counterbalanced by the benignant Jupiter, even though he was in the 6th.<sup>5</sup> But Saturn was not in the 10th temple, and Lucan is at pains to say so.

Saturn's baleful powers, indeed, were especially great because he was both in his own temple and in his masculine house. War was portended by the fact that Mars was at home in his feminine house of Scorpio, and this was a particularly bellicose sign.<sup>6</sup> Venus and Mercury, apparently, like the Sun, were in the 2nd temple, which was called *Inferna Porta* and *Typhonis Sedes*,<sup>7</sup> and was decidedly unpropitious. No mention was made by Figulus of the Moon, and her position depended upon the time which elapsed between the eclipse described in vv. 538-9 *supra*<sup>8</sup> and his prophecy. On account of this uncertainty she has not been included in the diagram.

Equally obvious are the unfavourable groupings of the signs which the planets occupied. The trigon of Aries, Sagittarius, and Leo will be noticed at once.<sup>10</sup> Also Aries, Aquarius, and Sagittarius are in hexagonal aspect, which was considered as malevolent because these signs are alternate.<sup>11</sup> Sagittarius and Aquarius are *signa uidentia*,<sup>12</sup> and in addition, Aries and Sagittarius may be attacked by Aquarius, and Aquarius in its turn by Leo, Aries, and Sagittarius.<sup>13</sup>

More evidence than has been collected here might have been adduced, especially from the Greek astrologers, to emphasize the various unfavourable aspects of the

<sup>1</sup> Edition of Lucan, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Firm. *Math.* 2. 19. 7 'qui locus Mala Fortuna appellatur ob hoc quia locus est Martis.'

<sup>3</sup> Id. 3. 3. 14 'locus enim, id est sextus, habet malitiae propriam praerogatiuam, et, quaecumque stella in ipso loco fuerit, id est in sexto, ad decernenda mala maximas uires ex loci uitio semper mutuabitur.'

<sup>4</sup> Id. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Id. 2. 19. 7 'sed interdum loci ipsius malitia subleuatur, si in eo loco stella collocata, alia stella in decimo ab horoscopo loco inuenta prospera fuerit radiatione coniuncta.'

<sup>6</sup> Id. 3. 2. 21 'quod si beniuola stella sic

positum per noctem saltem Saturnum bona radiatione respexit, id est Iouis aut Veneris specialiter, . . . ex aliqua parte largitur.'

<sup>7</sup> Manil. 4. 217-21 *cit. supra*.

<sup>8</sup> Id. 2. 871-5.

<sup>9</sup> 'iam Phoebe toto fratrem cum redderet ore | terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.'

<sup>10</sup> Manil. 2. 211-12.

<sup>11</sup> Id. 2. 572-3 'sed plerumque manent inimica tertia quaeque | lege, in transuersum uultu fixa maligno.'

<sup>12</sup> See Housman's edition of Manilius II, p. xviii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi.

planets and signs, and to add new hostile configurations. But enough perhaps has been said to make the accumulation of fresh material unnecessary.

Housman devoted his discussion of this passage in his *Astronomical Appendix* to showing how inaccurate was this description in point of fact, for he was privileged to know the position of the planets on the date in question through the calculations of the Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac Office.<sup>1</sup> At first sight it might be agreed that this is only one more example of the carelessness of Lucan in dealing with astronomy, as with geography and other fields of study involving exact knowledge; but the truth almost certainly goes deeper. The few data which he furnishes are yet sufficient for the reader to draw so coherent a picture of the astrological configuration which was supposed to be present to the mind of Figulus, that the reasonable conclusion is that here is no mere invention on the part of the poet, but a selection of a few of the details which Figulus actually presented to an audience in making his forecast of what lay in front of Rome after the outbreak of the Civil War. In other words, the prophecy of Figulus was historical, and Lucan has preserved faithfully some important details, though it is uncertain whether his source was Livy or some other document. On this occasion, the charge is not one of carelessness, but of a deliberate intention to mislead, now that it is known that the details of the positions of the planets were untrue; and the indictment must be laid not against Lucan, but against Figulus himself. This must be one of the most striking instances in history where the curious and elaborate superstition of astrology, which even to-day falsely goes by the name of a science with many, has deliberately misrepresented astronomical facts in order to make them conform with its own self-imposed rules for determining the future.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In acquiring this knowledge he was more fortunate than Johann Kepler, who tried to test the accuracy of this passage and obtained only a negative conclusion. See Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 362 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The substance of this paper was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society on 23 February 1939, and an abstract of it appeared in the *Cambridge University Reporter* of 14 March of that year, p. 711.

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## GREEK SCIENCE AND MECHANISM

### II. THE ATOMISTS

THE principle that a moving body must continue to move unless something stops it was not known to Aristotle nor even unconsciously assumed by him. The effect of this ignorance upon his philosophy was discussed in *C.Q.* 1939, p. 129 f. It forbade him to conceive of a mechanist theory in the nineteenth-century sense. It enabled him to hold, what must seem self-contradictory to us, that all events have definable causes without there being a universal nexus of causes and effects (future events, therefore, he thought of as not yet determined in the nature of things). And it compelled him to believe that nature could not be orderly unless guided by a purposive force. Therefore he attacked those scientists who had thought that the world could be explained in terms of the compulsions and interactions of natural stuffs—a principle which they vaguely called Necessity, *Ananke*. In attacking their doctrine A. cannot have thought he was attacking the mechanistic determinism which modern critics have detected in their words: for he could not even conceive of such an idea. There is an *a fortiori* case for arguing that his predecessors cannot have conceived of it either. But it is always possible that A. misunderstood them. And there is still Epicurus to consider.

Their conception of *Ananke* seems to have become current in the latter half of the fifth century. The fact that no presocratic discussion of it has survived (the very word appears only once in a scientific context—Leucip. fr. 2) suggests that the idea was not worked out technically. But Aristophanes' parody of it in the *Clouds* (377 f., 405, 1075) and the attribution of the word to the *φυσικόν* by Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Epicurus must mean, as Hirzel once suggested, that it was a commonplace of scientific jargon.

Further, unlike Aristotle, some of these scientists did actually say that chance is a subjective concept, *κενὸν σύνομα*. This seems to have been a bolder idea than *Ananke*, for it is not left unargued. It is defended by 'Hippocr.' *de Arte*, i. 11 K., probably at the turn of the fifth century; and a proof which Aristotle preserves (*Phys.* B. 196<sup>a</sup>1) is referred by Simplicius with probability to Democritus. Each states that what appears to happen by chance is really due to a definite cause. That is not yet a statement of determinism as we know it. It would become so if it accompanied a belief in a universal nexus of causes. But that again depends on a belief that the further effects of a cause are as precisely regulated as the nearer effects, that transmitted motions are quantitatively determined—in fact, on an assumption of the principle of inertia. The question is then: did the *φυσικοί* think of natural causes in much the same way as Aristotle, or did they all the time unconsciously assume those principles of motion which are the nerve of the determinist outlook?

#### *Some points in Atomist kinetics.*

Aristotle complained that Democritus failed to provide the atoms with a cause of motion. Commenting on this, Dr. Bailey writes: 'Democritus might have replied "that they are neither moved by an external force, nor do they move themselves: they are of their very nature for ever in motion: a force would be needed not to move them, but to stop them"' (*Gk. Atomists*, p. 134, n. 1). Apparent support for this can be found in Epicurus' theory that the atoms move always at the same maximum speed, and continue on their course until stopped (*Ep.* i. 61), a theory which Lucretius emphatically reiterates in Bk. II ('nulla quies est redditia corporibus primis, . . . sponte sua volitent aeterno percita motu . . .').

Whether or not the atomists anticipated Newton, the First Law of Motion was not common property among the scientists who followed them. By the ordinary view, a moving body possessed a certain amount of impetus, and when this was spent the body came to rest. This view was formulated in the theory of *vis impressa* held by the later Aristotelians, and is explicitly advanced even in the earlier work of Galileo. To distinguish it from the nineteenth-century view, the example was used (*C.Q.* 1939, p. 137) of the ripples on a pond: when a stone is dropped in, ripples are caused whose effect cannot strictly be said ever to end; whereas the ancient scientist would consider that they simply peter out. Seneca's description may now be compared (*N.Q.* i. 2. 2): 'cum in piscinam lapis missus est, uidemus in multos orbes aquam discedere et fieri primum angustissimum orbem, deinde laxiorem ac deinde alios maiores, donec euanscat impetus et in planitatem immotarum aquarum solvatur.' The same common-sense view is demonstrated in his discussion of thunderbolts (*N.Q.* ii. 57-8): the distance to which they are hurled depends on their initial *vires*, *impetus* (note *ictu languidiore, motu quiescente*).

Plutarch, affecting to describe the behaviour of Epicurean atoms, says of them (*adv. Col.* 1112 B): *vūn mēn ἀπίσαι διὰ τὴν ἀντίκρουσιν, vūn δὲ προσίσαι τῆς πληγῆς ἐκλυθείσης*. It is not necessary to suppose that Plutarch is correctly reporting this detail of the system: but it is undeniable that he has come away from the study of Epicurus without knowing anything of the First Law of Motion. The same may be said of Aëtius, reporting an atomist cosmology (*Aët.* i. 4. 2): *ώς δ' οὖν ἐξέλειπε μὲν ἡ πληκτικὴ δύναμις μετεωρίζουσα, οὐκέτι τε ἡγενὴ πληγὴ πρὸς τὸ μετέωρον.* . . . Of course we too speak of a force being 'spent'. But that is now no more than a convenient colloquialism, at the back of which is the knowledge, written down in many text-books, that in reality a force is not spent but checked, and that an account of all the component motions and resistances in a velocity could (theoretically) be totted up and an accurate balance struck. Ancient literature, however, contains no such text-book; nor could any reader of Greek suppose that a phrase like *ἐξέλειπεν ἡ πληκτικὴ δύναμις* is a colloquialism.

It was also commonly held that if a body, already in motion, is given a second and greater impetus, the former impetus will be temporarily obliterated or 'conquered'. This was the ancient explanation of the phenomenon of centrifugal force, when water remains in a bucket which is swung over the head. So the position of heavenly bodies was sometimes explained—by Empedocles (*Arist. de Caelo*, 284<sup>24</sup> and Simplic. *ad loc.*) and by Plutarch (*fac. orb. lun.* 923C; cf. *vit. Lysandri*, 12). From this the principle was generalized: e.g. Seneca, explaining the horizontal course of a thunderbolt by the theory that it suffers opposing compulsions, to go up and to go down, concludes (*N.Q.* ii. 58): 'incipit autem obliquum esse iter, dum *neutra uis alteri cedit* . . .': the mean resultant velocity will last until one force does conquer the other. This is again a view which persists into the sixteenth century.

Such language betrays an ignorance of the laws of motion. But the language of the atomists is no different. Lucretius (v. 622) reports Democritus' theory explaining why the stars go round the earth at different speeds: all are moved by the revolution of the caelum, but those which are farthest from it get left behind: 625 *euanscere enim rapidas illius et acris imminui subter uiris*. There is nothing here about friction.

When Epicurus says (*Ep.* i. 61) *έφ' ὅποσον γὰρ ἀν κατίσχῃ ἔκατέρα αὐτῶν [sc. κινήσεων], ἐπὶ τοοῦτον ἀμα νοήματι τὴν φορὰν σχήσει, ἔως ἀν τι ἀντικόψῃ ἡ ἐξ τοῦ ἴδιου βάρους πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πληξάντος δύναμιν*, he might appear to believe that an atom continues to move unless stopped. But that is not what he says. The atom keeps its course until it strikes another, or until its impetus is conquered by the downward pull of weight. First the new impetus conquers the pull of weight; then as the

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impetus fades, the pull of weight begins to conquer it. The process is exemplified in the acceleration of falling bodies:

Lucr. vi. 340 denique quod longo uenit impete, sumere debet  
mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae crescit eundo  
et ualidas auget uiris et roborat ictum.  
nam facit ut quae sint illius semina cumque  
e regione locum quasi in unum cuncta ferantur,  
omnia coniciens in eum uoluentia cursum.

When an object falls far, there is time enough for the jostlings of its component atoms to be conquered by the downward tendency: the more atoms plunge downwards, the faster the fall of the whole body. (See Bailey's translation, note on this passage.)

The thunderbolt also illustrates a still more remarkable piece of kinetics. A *fulmen* is formed when wind, being bottled up in a cloud, whirls round and round until the cloud is worn out and can contain it no longer. Lucretius' language suggests that the wind, in its whirling, gathers not only heat but also *momentum*:

vi. 323 mobilitas autem fit fulminis et grauis ictus,  
et celeri ferme percurrunt fulmina lapsu,  
nubibus ipsa quod omnino prius incita se uis  
colligit et magnum conamen sumit eundi,  
inde ubi non potuit nubes capere impetus auctum,  
exprimitur uis atque ideo uolat impete miro,  
ut ualidis quae de tormentis missa feruntur.

(The same is implied by vi. 175-203.) The cloud contributes nothing to the motion. Hence wind, when confined, is not only a perpetual-motion machine: it is a perpetual-acceleration machine. This is not pressing Lucretius too far: on the contrary Democritus' theory should be compared (Seneca, *N.Q. v. 2*):

Democritus ait: 'cum in angusto inani multa sint corpuscula quae ille atomos uocat, sequi uentum . . . nam quemadmodum in foro aut uico, quamdui paucitas est, sine tumultu ambulatur, ubi turba in angustum concurrit, aliorum in alios incidentium rixa fit: sic in hoc quo circumdati sumus spatio, cum exiguum locum multa corpora impleuerint, necesse est alia aliis incident et impellant ac repellantur implicenturque et comprimantur, ex quibus nascitur uentus, cum illa quae colluctabantur incubere et diu fluctuata ac dubia inclinare se. at ubi in magna laxitate corpora pauca uersantur, nec arietare possunt nec impelli'.

Democritus' purpose is to explain how a wind can arise where no wind was before. He must allow a collection of air-atoms to acquire new momentum in a new direction, and he does this by bringing the atoms into close proximity to each other so that they collide more than usual. The extra jostling does not merely determine them to move in the same direction: it also generates momentum, just as it excites people in a crowd. The more jostling, the more speed: *collision generates motion*. Now Epicurus could not believe this of individual atoms, since they (for reasons discussed below) must be considered as travelling always at maximum speed. But he does seem to have believed it of composite bodies like the thunderbolt. On the other hand, there is no reason why Democritus should not have believed that the atoms themselves have their motion renewed by collisions. And this suggests how he might have answered Aristotle's question, 'τι τὸ κινοῦν;' if he had ever considered it: that the atoms are kept moving by bumping into each other—as Simplicius says (*Phys. 42. 10*), *Δημόκριτος φύσει ἀκίνητα λέγων τὰ ἀτομα πληγῇ κινεῖσθαι φησιν*. (But at other times Simpl. wrongly makes weight a cause of motion of Democritus' atoms.) Epicurus too, who regarded weight as the prime source of motion, could speak of collision

as an additional source: *Lucr.* ii. 84 'aut grauitate sua ferri . . . aut ictu forte alterius'.

But Aristotle would not have been satisfied. To him the motion created by collision is a *βίασις κίνησις*, and he requires that a *φύσις* movement precede a *βίασις*. This demand is not mere esoteric Aristotelianism. In asking for a cause of motion he wants not only an originating but also a sustaining cause. A *βίασις κίνησις*, being merely transmitted, could not be credited with permanence. (The theory about wind supposes a confined space in which a great deal of collision takes place. But one can imagine the sort of *ἀπορία* that would be raised: one by one the atoms shoot off into spaces where they meet no other, and one by one they come to a stop. . . .) To meet this objection Epicurus does not cite the First Law of Motion and reply that a sustaining cause is unnecessary. Instead he advances the atoms' weight as both origin and sustainer of their motion. But if weight is to keep the atoms moving, the universe must be infinite in extent:

*Lucr.* i. 992 at nunc nimirum requies data principiorum  
corporibus nulla est, quia nil est funditus imum  
quo quasi confluere et sedis ubi ponere possint.

Which says quite clearly that if the universe had a bottom, the atoms would *come to rest*.

To such an outlook the laws of motion are surely foreign. Why then did Epicurus insist that atoms, meeting no resistance in the void, must all move at an equal maximum speed? The reason is probably that suggested by Simplicius (*in phys.* 232<sup>a</sup>23): Epicurus must evade problems of the sort first raised by Zeno of Elea. For example, if atom A moves faster than atom B, then in the time which A takes to traverse an atomic part of space, B will have traversed less than an atomic part of space: which is absurd. Democritus seemed to provide no cause of motion but *ἀληθοτυπία*. But collision could not be supposed to cause an equal motion. An invariable sustaining cause was therefore sought in the atoms' weight. And when he urged that in the void different weights would nevertheless give the same speed to all atoms, Epicurus was simply clinching his theory with an argument taken from the enemy's mouth: for had not Aristotle himself shown, even if in irony, that in the void an infinitely great speed must be attained by all objects alike?

#### *Random in the atomic universe.*

The sort of determinism in which the atomists believed must therefore have differed essentially from the nineteenth-century variety. The latter was supported by at least three postulates: (1) every event is the effect of an antecedent material cause; (2) the same causal situation will always produce the same immediate effect; (3) every immediate effect is itself the cause of further effects, and those of yet others, in a nexus which embraces and already determines the most distant future. 'Show me the dispositions of all the atoms in the universe', said Laplace, 'and I will foretell the whole future of the world.' The first two postulates were held by the ancients. But the third is only possible for those who believe that motion does not peter out, but is transmitted diminished or checked in determined and calculable ways; they must know that motions are not temporarily conquered, but that resultant velocities can be analysed into their components. It is this that Epicurus did not know, this that distinguishes his atomism from the billiard-ball universe of Laplace.

It is therefore impossible that Lucretius should have meant 'laws of nature' in the latter-day sense when he spoke of *fati foedera*, or nineteenth-century mechanism by *machina mundi*. Long before, in the exciting and simple first phase of the materialist idea, Leucippus had said (fr. 2): *οὐδέν χρῆμα μάτην γίνεται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐκ λόγου τε*

*καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγκης.* This fragment (which, if its author had not been named as Leucippus, might have seemed to come more naturally from Chrysippus) is mentioned by no ancient writer except Stobaeus. It would therefore be unwise to attach any too startlingly novel a meaning to a remark which so signally failed to startle the ancient world. L. could not have proclaimed a self-sufficient machine-like world, where everything goes according to law and pattern, without at least arousing the interest of Plato. All he can have meant to express is the new idea of his time, that every event is due to a definable cause: in his crabbed way he tries to say that everything can be accounted for, and that things happen because they cannot help happening—not because some capricious deity suddenly makes them happen. This was in the introduction to his book *περὶ Νοῦ*, and it may be this very work to which Epicurus replies in the fragment from his *περὶ Φύσεως* which Th. Comperz edited (*Wiener Stud.* i. 27-31, 1879). There he argues, from the self-evident fact of free volition and the existence of praise and blame, that though both the forming of a mind out of atoms and the stimulating of it are due to external causes, yet its subsequent decisions are due to its own spontaneous movement: *ὡς ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν ἀντοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μόνον συστάσει καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ ἐπεισόντος κατὰ τὸ αὐτόματον ἀνάγκη* (83-5). And he rebukes as too easy-going the theory that *τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον πάντα δύνασθαι* (*ibid.* 112). Leucippus and Democritus had held a behaviourist view, that the human mind is merely the expression of the jostlings of atoms. Epicurus was at pains to deny this helpless condition by denying that everything is due to external causes. He can give two examples of things which are not so due: one is the ability of the mind to choose, the other is the first collision which ever took place among the atoms. Both these are spontaneous, and must be due to the power of the atom to swerve. There is no need to follow Guyau in making the swerve also explain the existence of chance. Of course chance exists, in the sense that the future is undetermined. But it does not exist in the sense that events are uncaused. (It was with the latter idea, still a novel one, that the *φυσικοί* were preoccupied. But Democritus in his ethical writings can speak of chance as freely as any Greek.) Only to a nineteenth-century mind is this a paradox, and such it was to Guyau. His theory depends on a single remark of Plutarch's: *ἄτομον παρεγκλίναι μίαν ἐν τούλαχιστον, ὅπως ἀστρα καὶ ζῷα καὶ τύχη παρεισέλθῃ καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπόληγαι* (*de Soll. Anim.* 964E). But this suggestion is unique among the ancient writers, and may safely be counted as a piece of pure Plutarch, who held that *τύχη* is a *σύμπτωμα* of *τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν* and only exists when it does—*ἢ δὲ τύχη παρεμπίπτει τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν* (*de Fato*, 6-7). Guyau failed to see what Epicurus was trying to disprove. It was not a mechanist world in which the behaviour of the mind is inexorably determined from the moment of its birth, but one in which it is inexorably determined *from moment to moment* by the random movements of atoms whose collisions and velocities are subject to no law. If the mind were really in that manner the product of chance and necessity, then its condition would indeed be more lamentable than if it were enslaved to wilful, but intelligent, gods.

Epicurus therefore saved the human mind from random behaviour, but he could not save his world from it. It seems likely that in the interval between him and Lucretius his opponents fastened upon that point, asking (with Aristotle) how atomism could account for the orderliness of nature (a question which has no cogence against Laplace). And so Lucretius spends more time than his master on meeting the objection, arguing that a particular object can only be produced when a particular formation of atoms comes into being. Apples come from apple-trees, because there the atoms have come together in an apple-forming way. Hence the reiterated emphasis on *motus convenientes, certa semina, certae rationes*. Such phrases have been understood to imply positive laws of natural production, but in fact they describe only the

limiting conditions of production (so Guyau, Benn, and others). What Lucretius proves, with his doctrine of *fati foedera*, is that figs cannot come from thistles—not that next year's figs are already determined in this year's condition of the tree. And if, when ridiculing the Stoic idea that so vast a whirling universe of atoms could be destroyed in a day, he speaks of it as the *machina mundi*, it is clear that the attribute which the world shares with a *machina* (particularly an ancient *machina*) is not its regularity but its complexity.

But Lucretius' answer was inadequate. He was asked for an explanation, and he gave a disproof. He may have shown that the growth of apples on an apple-tree does not indicate supernatural guidance; that, on the principle of *nil ex nilo*, apples can only be produced when the atoms have jostled themselves (after who knows how many abortive combinations?) into a *motus conveniens*. But he has not explained why nature should be so overwhelmingly regular in achieving *motus convenientes*, and why the abortive combinations are so conspicuously in the minority. On this point the Epicureans did not advance a step on Empedocles, and the answer which he had got from Aristotle was repeated to Epicurus by the Stoics. To judge between the ancient systems on the grounds that one is more 'scientific' than the others, is probably not a useful approach to them. But if such a judgement is to be made, then it must be conceded that the weight of the evidence was with Aristotle and with the Stoics. Atomism was not even plausible until Galileo's experiments made it so. The best minds always preferred Stoicism, frightful though that alternative must seem, and the disciples of Epicurus were, until the seventeenth century, few and neurotic.

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## MARGINALIA SCENICA. I

WHETHER any apology is possible for the form of this paper is doubtful; but perhaps a few words are allowable. The miscellaneous notes, of which it consists, are fairly well described by the title: at all events, the proposals contained in them—with, I fear, many others—have been pencilled at one time or another in one margin or another. Their age varies widely: two or three must go back to days when my only complete Euripides was Kirchhoff's *editio minor* and my only Sophocles a copy of Tournier; the most date from middle age or 'quidquid est illud inter iuvenem et senem medium in utriusque confinio positum'; but, whenever they were made, they were not made by a student of the Greek dramatists commanding the equipment that such a student ought to have. The equipment, in any case, was out of my reach; but, though I have read the plays often, I have read them only because the ancients have a way of enabling one to forget the moderns—as I was informed in my youth by an excellent scholar who has now forgotten both. I hope, therefore, that anyone who may happen to read the paper will overlook some errors and ignorances of the amateur; and, above all, if I may borrow a sentence from Markland's preface to his emendations on Lysias, 'si quando dictatoria ista, *Lege, vel Scribe*, occurrent, scito me nihil aliud velle quam *Forte legendum vel scribendum*'.

Soph. *Phil.* 1090 ff. . . . τοῦ ποτε τεύχομαι  
σιτονόμου μέλεος πόθεν ἐπίδος;  
εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω  
πτωκάδες δέντρον διὰ πνεύματος  
ἔλωσι μ'. οὐ γάρ ἔτ' ἵσχυώ.

So, according to the written tradition, Philoctetes, bereft of his bow, expressed his sentiments in face of a contrite chorus and the hungry solitudes of Lemnos. According to the antistrophe, he employed in 1092 the most everyday of dochmii (= ἰδούμαν δέ νν), and in 1094 a catalectic iambic dimeter (= ἐμὰς λαχόντ' ἀνά). According to the scholiast, a perplexed posterity doubted whether he said *πτωκάδες* (s.v.a. Harpies, διὰ τὸ ἐπερπίπεν) or *πτωχάδες* (still Harpies, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ πεινῆν) or *πτωμάδες* or *πρωτάδες* or *δρομάδες* (storm-winds, because of their celerity). According to the lowly *Parisinus* 2787 (Pearson's B), he construed εἴθε, not with the aorist subjunctive, but with the future indicative (ἔλωσι μ'). At this point antiquity ceases to be helpful.

The views of the moderns, up to his own day, are epitomized with clarity and urbanity by Jebb in his Appendix; and there, perhaps, without flagrant injustice, they might be left. They show a general tendency to restore the metre of 1095 by Dissen's οὐκέτ' ἵσχω, or the like, while adopting ἔλωσι μ' from B, or modifying it into an intransitive ἔλωσιν ('a certain emendation'); to acquiesce in *πτωκάδες* as having at least the merit of being a Greek word (Hom. *ep.* 8 ναῦται ποντοπόροι, στυγερῆ ἐναλίγκιοι ἄτη | πτωκάσιοι αἰθνύσιοι, βίον δύσκηλον ἔχοντες); and to equip it with a feminine substantive, elicited by hook or by crook or by both from the letters ΕΙΘΑΙΘΕΡΟC. As to the substantive, there is no unanimity: by Nauck, for instance, 1092 is transmuted into γοναὶ δ' αἰθέρος, with ἔλωσιν below; by Wecklein, into εἰ θῆρες πλάνοι—which Jebb considers 'very ingenious'—with ἔλωσ'; by Bergk, into αἴθνιαι δ' ἄνω (with γελώσι μ'); by Heimsoeth, strangely unimaginative, into ὅτ' ὄρνεις ἄνω, with ἔλωσ'. In Hermann's life there was apparently a period when he considered that *πτωκάδες* meant 'timid hopes' and that 'timid hopes' meant 'shy birds'. Jebb himself wrote with a high heart and a heavy hand, but with com-

plete sanity: *πέλειας δ' ἄνω | πτωκάδες ὁξυτόνου διὰ πνεύματος | ἐλώσιν· οὐκέτ' ἵσχω*—‘above my head the timorous doves will go on their way through the shrill breeze; for I can arrest their flight no more’.

In the twentieth century, Radermacher, writing *ἐνθ' αἰθέρος*, takes refuge in another world, where *πτωκάδες, tout nu*, means ‘birds’ (διὰ τὸ φοβοδεές, the scholiast would presumably have said); where *πνεῦμα, tout nu*, means ‘Ton, Schall’; and where, seemingly, the note of pigeons—for such, after all, the ‘cowards’ were—is oxytone. Pearson accepts Schroeder’s makeshift *εἰτ' αἰθέρος*, condemns the much-enduring *πτωκάδες* (‘fort. πτωκάδες, deae horrifcae, velut Harpyiarum ἐπίκλησις’), and for the final words prints a contamination of Wunder and Blaydes (*οὐδ' ἐτ' ἵσχυς*). Masqueray is pessimistic (*locus incertissimus*), but relaxes his habitual wariness so far as to print Radermacher’s *ἐνθ' αἰθέρος*.

A *locus incertissimus* I dare say it will remain in spite of my efforts; yet I have never been able to see that the case is wholly desperate. At all events, if it is once granted that *ΕΙΘΑΙΘΕΡΟC* might with ease have sprung either from *ΕΙΘΑΙΠΡΟC(Θ)*—the supralinear correction being written a shade too far to the right—or from *ΕΙΘΑΙ\*\*ΠΡΟC*, with a couple of letters rather indistinct, the passage emends itself:

*ἴθ'\* αἱ πρόσθ\*\* ἄνω  
πτωκάδες ὁξυτόνου διὰ πνεύματος·  
ἀλωσιν\* οὐκέτ' ἵσχω.*

The sense is beyond cavil: ‘Come, you who once cowered aloft; come through the shrilling breeze: I can no longer bring you low.’ It is, in fact, merely the there to which he reverts some fifty lines later: *φυγὰ μηκέτ' ἀπ' αὐλίων | πηδᾶτ'. οὐ γάρ ἔχω χεροῦν | τὰν πρόσθεν βελέων ἀλκάν κτέ.* (1149 ff.). Nor is it obvious what criticism can be directed against the mode of expression. *Πτωκάδες*, qualified as it now is, stands above suspicion. The best gentleman in Greek tragedy has lived so long alone with his Aryan virtues of shooting with the bow and telling the truth, with his festering and verminous foot, and with the missiles and pigeons standing between himself and starvation (*γαστρὶ μὲν τὰ σύμφορα | τόξον τόδ' ἔξηρόσικε, τὰς ὑποπτέρους | βάλλον πελείας*, 287 ff.), that he no more dreams of adding *πλεῖα* at such a moment than he dreamt of adding *νόσος* at 758 (*ηκει γάρ αὐτῇ διὰ χρόνου*) or 807 (*ηδε μοι | δέξεια φοιτᾶ*), or *πῆμα* at 788 (*προσέρχεται τόδ' ἔγγυς*). For *ἄλωσιν ἔχειν* it is enough to quote *supr. 61 μόνην ἔχοντες τήνδ' ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου*. That a bird on the wing may be said *ἄλισκεσθαι τόξω* can perhaps be taken for granted: if not, there is always the eagle of the *Λιβυστικοὶ λόγοι*—*τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς | ἄλισκόμεσθα* (Aesch. ap. *S. Ar. An.* 808, *al.*).

As to the corruptions, apart from the first, *ἄλωσιν* is, in reality, nearer to *ἄλωσί μ'* than is *ἐλώσιν*: the *γάρ* of the tradition is only the typical insertion of a scribe, offended by an asyndeton or groping for the beginning of a sentence. Simple examples of the process are: *O.C. 1776 οὐ γάρ δει μ' ἀποκάμενοι, Aι. 706 ἐλώσιν γάρ αἰνὸν ἄχος (LcA<sup>+</sup>: ἐλωσιν L<sup>+</sup>), Aesch. Ag. 791 οὐ γάρ σ' ἐπικενύω, S.C.T. 114 κίμα γάρ περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν, Men. Epir. 359 ἐκτεμεῖν | δίδωμ' ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς δόδοντας.—ἄλλ' οὐτοί | τίς εοθ' ὁ προσιών; [Eur.] Rhes. 195 μέγας μὲν ἀγών μέγαλο δ' κτέ.* *Or. 234 V (γάρ), 695 ML*

<sup>1</sup> Whether I am honest in affixing the asterisk to all three words I am unable to decide. I evolved them long ago from my inner consciousness, but discovered later from Jebb that Hermann, at some time prior to 1805, proposed: *ἴθ' αἱ πρόσθ' ἄνω | πτωκάδες . . . ἐλῶσί μ'*, but had in 1827 abandoned his idea in favour of the impossibility: *ἴθ', αἰθέρος ἄνω . . . ἐλῶσί μ' κτέ.*—

As to the alternative indicated above (*ἴθ' αἱ πρόσθος κτέ.*)\* I regard it as perhaps metrically possible, but certainly improbable: for Radermacher's remark, on 1098 f.: ‘Überhaupt zeigt das ganze Chorlied eine freie Behandlung der Responsion’, is applicable chiefly to his own text.

(γάρ), 758 MABL (δέ), 1137 A (δέ), 1333 M (γάρ), 1612 L (γάρ)—and so very commonly; in the case of δέ, indeed, *passim*. The interchange of *ἰσχω* and *ἰσχύω* hardly calls for remark, but I take the opportunity of correcting the rather acid letter of Abaris to Phalaris (Phal. *Eph.* 57, p. 422 Hercher): *ποιεῖς πάντα βίᾳ, καὶ προσέπι* *ἰσχη δόξῃ καὶ* *καὶ ἀγρούτητι* (*ἰσχη*\*: *ἰσχύη* or *ἰσχύει* or *ἰσχύεις* Lennep's MSS., *ἰσχύος* the Aldine margin and Lennep).<sup>1</sup>

*Phil.* 188 ff.

ορέ-

α δ' ἀθυρόστομος  
ἀχῶ τηλεφανής πικρᾶς  
οίμωγάς ὑπόκειται.

'Il est probable', says Tournier, 'que τηλεφανής a ici le sens actif, comme le veut Dübner: *τῆλε φάίνοντα πικρὰν οίμωγήν*', and, in Radermacher, the explanation is repeated verbatim by Wilamowitz; who proceeds: *ὑπόκειται* (= *ὑπάρχει*) nimmt *κεῖται* aus Vs. 183 wieder auf.<sup>2</sup> But, however venerable the name of its sponsor, only by an act of faith can an interpretation be accepted, which produces neither a shred of evidence for an 'active' compound in . . . *φανής*, nor a word of excuse for the sudden and startling apparition of a word like *ὑπόκειται*, totally unknown in Greek tragedy, all but totally unknown in Greek poetry, and by no means exactly equated with *ὑπάρχει*. At the best, such suggestions are purely conjectural, and must stand at the same bar as other conjectures. Of those there has been no lack. They disclose, however, a curious fluidity of learned opinion as to the relations obtaining between a lament and its echo. In the view of Erfurdt, immortalized in the Oxford text, the latter is poured forth by the former (*οίμωγάς ὑπὸ χεῖται*); in that of Hermann, the former is the vehicle of the latter (*οίμωγάς ὑπὸ ὁχεῖται*); in that of Hartung, the latter marks time—or touches responsive chords—for the former (*οίμωγάς ὑποκρονεῖ*). Dorat, who, like the scholiast (*ό δὲ νοῦς· ἀεὶ δὲ ὁδυρομένους αὐτὸν ἡχῶ πρὸς τὸν ὁδυρμὸν ἀντιφθέγγεται*), had observed the phenomena more superficially, supposed the echo to answer the lament (*ὑπακούει*), and so—with the needed finishing touch, *πικρᾶς οίμωγάς*—Blaydes and Jebb read. The emendation, as might be expected from the tutor of Ronsard, is natural and sensible, and therefore good; but it is quite far enough removed from the tradition to make it worth while to look at the one practicable alternative—to accentuate *πικρᾶς οίμωγάς* and seek in *ὑπόκειται* a verb equivalent to *succinit*. This line of approach was tried by Pflugk (*ὑποκλαίει*) and, with still more discouraging results, by Blaydes (*ἀποπέμπει* or *ἀναπέμπει* or *ἀνεγείρει*). They missed, however, the single word which comes near to invalidating Dorat's correction:

ἀχῶ τηλεφανής πικρᾶς  
οίμωγάς ὑποτάκει.\*

The direct parallel, without which it is idle to propose such things, is furnished by *El.* 122 *τίν' ἀεὶ | τάκεις ἀδ' ἀκόρεστον οίμωγάν*; nor is there any objection on the score of technique. The letters remain virtually unchanged, and the transposition

<sup>1</sup> Phalaris, who is cultured, would himself have said *κατέχη*, but Abaris came from the frozen North, and had only seen the world from an arrow. He therefore uses the conventional style of the barbarous letter-writer, with a tendency to lapse into the archaic and to be chary of the definite article (e.g. in this epistle, *φύσιν σήν* and *πολύτην σόν*; *φύλοις σοῖς* Amasis *ap.* Hercher, p. 100; *ἔμη φωνή* Anacharsis *ep.* 1, *σῆς θύρας* ib. 2, etc.).—Hercher omits the word altogether with some of his doctored manuscripts. He says himself: 'Quodsi quis conjecturis suis tentare

voluerit Phalaridea, meo usus apparatu Lennepianum non desiderabit.' The contrary affirmative struck me as much nearer the truth.

<sup>2</sup> What Wilamowitz meant is none too clear: for it is perfectly obvious that there is not the shadow of a connexion between the *ὑπόκειται* of 191 and the *κεῖται* of 183: *οὐτος πρωτογόνων ίσως | οίκων (ή καν) Suid. E, 'lectio verissima' Pors. Adv. 199) οὐδένος ὑστερος | πάντων ἀμμορος ἐν βίᾳ | κεῖται μοῦνος ἀπ' ἀλλων | στικτῶν ἡ λασίων μετὰ | θηρῶν κτέ.*

of the syllables may have arisen simply from ὄντα—a fairly frequent source of error, as Bast pointed out well over a century ago. In any case, these graphical Spoonerisms are common enough,<sup>1</sup> and there are other passages in tragedy where I should be inclined to assume them.

For instance, at Eur. *El.* 1049, Clytemnestra has concluded an *apologia pro vita sua* with the words:

λέγ' εἴ τι χρῆσις, κάντθες παρρησίᾳ  
ὅπως τέθηκε σὸς πατὴρ οὐκ ἐνδίκως.

The chorus has uttered four virtuous lines, and the dialogue now proceeds:

1055 Ηλ. μέμνησο, μῆτερ, οὐδὲ ἔλεξας ὑστάτους  
λόγους, διδοῦσα πρὸς σέ μοι παρρησίαν.  
Κλ. καὶ νῦν γέ φημι, κούκι ἀπαρνοῦμαι, τέκνον.  
Ηλ. <οὐκ> ἄρα κλύσουσα, μῆτερ, εἴτ' ἔρξεις κακῶς;  
Κλ. οὐκ ἔστι, τῇ σῇ δ' ἡδὺ προσθήσω φρενί.  
Ηλ. λέγομ' ἄν· κτέ.

In 1059, I have taken Weil's speculative <οὐκ> ἄρα in place of ἄρα, as his attempt has not been bettered and must give Electra's meaning, if not her words. On the following line he observed: 'Je corrige la leçon οὐκ ἔστι, τῇ σῇ δ' ἡδὺ προσθήσω φρενί, dans laquelle les deux membres de phrase répugnaient à toute saine interprétation.' The assertion may err on the side of *intransigence*, and the 'correction' was faulty.<sup>2</sup> Still, so far as can be judged at a distance of well over two millenniums, the verse is a poor affair. And, apart from its intrinsic merits or demerits, there is one highly suspicious circumstance. For assume, for the sake of argument, that Clytemnestra answers, tersely but adequately, οὐκ: then ἔστι is freed for more important work; its second syllable supplies the τι, certainly expected, possibly needed, with ἡδύ; and almost automatically<sup>3</sup> there emerges the flawless line:

οὐκ· εἴ τι σῇ τῇ δ'\* ἡδὺ προσθήσω φρενί.

<sup>1</sup> A few miscellaneous examples are: ἐπίτηδες = ἐπὶ τῆσδε Lys. xxii. 9; γυνᾶκες = αἱ κύνες id. fr. 154 B.-S.; Διφίλον = Φειδίλον Alciph. i. 29; Μαλικῷ = Λαμιακῷ Strab. 446; ἐπὶ οὐκίους = ἐπὶ Πικρηνού Procop. t. ii. 429, 3 Haury; ἀποφλορησάντων = ὀπλοφορησάντων Jul. ep. 152 Bidez-Cumont; εὐρ' ὅπως = εἰνόρως (Schoemann) Antiph. *Herod. caed.* 76; ἰκάστω = ἀκεστῶ, ib. 91; δ' γε μωβός = δ' γ' ἔθισμός (Wilamowitz) Antig. Car. ap. Ath. 547 F; ἐνάρκων = ἐξάρπων D. Hal. *Lys.* § 26; ἀχεδών = ἀχώ δ' ἐν Mosch. iii. 54; οὐδὲ ἄρα = ὄρας D. Chrys. vii. 117; δειχθεῖσαν = εἰδέθειαν *Wisd.* xvi. 3; οὐδὲ εἰναι = ὄντεισαν (ita leg.) Ach. Tat. iii. 24, and so, sporadically, everywhere. In the dramatists, examples are plentiful enough, though seldom striking, typical cases being: θακεύεις = καθεύδεις Eur. *I.A.* 623; χώρεις νεκράν = χωρεύειν χρεών *I.T.* 118; οὐδεῖς = οὐδὲ δεῖ (Badham) ib. 1213; δὴ τάλανα = δῆτα λάν *Med.* 929; ἐκπλέξαι = ἐκκλέψαι (the error is by no means always optical) *Hel.* 741; τά τ' ἐξ = τε τάξ Soph. *O.C.* 453; αὐθῆδης (Α<sup>+</sup>) = αὐδηθεῖς

*Trach.* 1106; κάξεκήρυξε (i.e. κάκ' ἐξήρυξε) = κάκ' ἐξήρυξε *Phil.* 423; ἐπόντων (Harl.) = ἐντόντων ib. 1171; ἀνέτικτε = ἀτέγκτε *Ag. Thesm.* 1047; δέμιος = δεσμού ib. 1125; ζήλας (ν') = λήξας *Rhes.* 790; τέροκε (L) = ἔτεκτο *Phoen.* 649; κυκαβίζουσῶν = κυκαβάζουσῶν (Dobree) *Ag. Lys.* 761; ἀρματωλίας = ἀμαρτωλίας *Pac.* 415 (cf. ῥιμφαμάρτως = ῥιμφαρμάτως (L<sup>1</sup>) *O.C.* 1062)—*et similia multa.*

<sup>2</sup> He wrote: οὐκ, ἔστι τῇ σῇ δ' ἡδὺ προσθέσθαι φρενί ('il me plaît d'accéder à ton humeur'—the sense which the commentators assign to the vulgate). Radermacher wished to excise 1058-60, and Wecklein mentions a few wild proposals: e.g. οὐκ ἔστι: νείκη δ' ἡσύχη φρήν (Camper), οὐ δῆθ'. δ τῇ σῇ δ' ἡδὺ προσθήσθαι φρενί (Herweder). He himself, for unspecified reasons, conjectured προσφύσω.

<sup>3</sup> A good parallel for the corruption is *Ag. 1312 τοῦ σοῦ θ' ὀμαίμονος*, where, as an emendation, Bergk's *τοῦ σοῦ θ' ὀμαίμονος* is as excellent as Bothe's *τοῦ σοῦ γ' ὀμαίμονος* is puerile.

On t

For t

Take

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γάμο  
keanu  
αρρα  
ῶ μοῖ  
προσδ

On that line a sufficient commentary, it seems to me, is *I.T.* 492 ff.:

*Iφ. πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν ἐνθάδ' ὀνομασμένος*  
*Πινάδης κέκληται;<sup>1</sup> τόδε μαθεῖν πρῶτον θέλω.*  
*Ορ. ὅδ', εἰ τι δή σοι τοῦτ' ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν.*

For there also *εἰ τι* is an emendation by *l*, and the reading of LP is *ἔστι*.

Take, again, a vexed couplet of the *Helen* (885 f.):

880 *Ἡρα μέν, ἦ σοι δυσμενῆς πάροιθεν ἦν,*  
*νῦν ἔστι εὔνους κάς πάτραν σῶσαι θέλει*  
*ξὺν τῇδ', ἵν' Ἐλλὰς τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρον γάμους,*  
*δώρητα Κίντριδος, φευδονυμφέντους μάθη.*  
*Κύπρις δὲ νόστον σὸν διαφθεῖραι θέλει,*  
*ώς μὴ ἔελεγχθῇ μηδὲ πριαμένη φανῇ*  
*τὸ κάλλος Ἐλένης οὐνεκ' ὀνητοῖς γάμοις.*

Theonoe is addressing Menelaus, and all is clear till darkness falls upon the last verse, which is merely unintelligible. Pierson came to the rescue with *ἀνονήτοις γάμοις* and his emendation—superior as it is to such efforts as *οὐκ ἐτητύμοις* (Kaysers), *ἔνεκ'* *ἀνηρύτοις* (Schenkl), *εἰκόνος κενῆς* (Holzner), *ἡνεμαμένοις* (Wecklein), *Ἐλένην δοῦσα μωμητοῖς* (Rauchenstein)—has attained a vogue: it is received, for instance, by Murray. But—to go no further—in an author with the passion of Euripides for verbal antithesis, *πριαμένη* is almost an explicit warning to look for the corruption anywhere and everywhere rather than in *ἀνητοῖς*. Herwerden therefore risked *οὐκ ἄρ' ἀνητοῖς γάμοις*—‘nuptiis quas non venales fuisse nunc appetat (*ἄρ'*)’. Pearson, on the strength of 1097 (*ἢ πὶ τῷμῷ κάλλος ἐκτήσω γάμῳ* [κακῷ Nauck, with a show of reason]) proposed and printed *οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνητοῖς γάμοις*. The same passage once suggested the same alteration to myself, but I discarded it in favour of an alternative which I thought, and think, decidedly preferable:

*μηδὲ πριαμένη φανῇ*  
*τὸ κάλλος Ἐλένης οὐκ ἐν ἀνητοῖς γάμος\*—*

‘lest it be seen that to her who purchased the prize of beauty the hand of Helen was one of things unpurchaseable.’

In vigour, it may be fairly claimed, the proposal marks an advance upon those of Herwerden and Pearson: every word of it tells, while, in the competing versions, *Ἐλένης* is null—the thesis of one foot, the arsis of another. That not Paris, but Aphrodite, should be described as bidding for the marriage is rhetorically natural, or inevitable, and may be historically true. At all events, Helen, who must have known, says to her husband at *Tro.* 938: *οὕπω με φήσεις αὐτὰ τὰν ποιὸν λέγειν, | ὅπως ἀφώρητος ἐκ δόμων τῶν σῶν λάθρα | ήλθ' οὐχὶ μικρὰν θεὸν ἔχων αὐτοῦ μέτα | ὁ τῆσδ' ἀλάστωρ, εἴτ' Ἀλέξανδρον θέλει | ὄνόματε προσφωνεῖν νιν εἴτε καὶ Πάριν.* The changes tend to zero. The confusion of *οὐνεκ'* and *οὐκ ἐ* is far more than easy—it recurs at *H.F.* 64 (*οὐκ ἐν ὅλῳ = οὐνεκ' ὅλῳ*) and, I fancy, once elsewhere in the dramatists, though the passage has slipped my memory. In the sequence *ἐν ἀνητοῖς γάμος*, the nominative might have survived in the Urbinas of Isocrates or the Clarkianus of Plato, but not in the Laurentianus and Palatinus of Euripides; whose *apparatus criticus* is littered with such humble monuments to mortal indolence as: *ῶ μοῖρα δυστάλαιν' ἔμων (= ἔμῃ) τε καὶ τέκνων | τούνδ' (= τῶνδ') οὐδὲ πανύστατ' ὅμμασων προσδέρκομαι* *H.F.* 456; *τήνδε φιλτάτην LP, τῶνδε φιλτάτων VB (τῶνδε φιλτάτην Σ Ηίρρ. 1437), Alc. 23; ἐν πέπλοις (= πέπλων) ὑφάσμασιν Hel. 1243; λοχεῖ' ἔμον νοσήματος*

<sup>1</sup> This impossible verb I attempt later to emend.

(= λόχιά μου νοούματα) *El.* 656; τροφὸν ἐμὸν φίλον (= ἐμοῦ φίλον) πατρὸς *ib.* 409—and so φαμικοκοσκάκις. Hence, in the *Ion*, after perpendent ἔχοντα (= ἔχουσα) δεσπότην 511, τῶν Γοργόνων (= Γοργόνος) 1015, μόχθοις (= μόχθος) ἀργυρηλάτους 1181, ἐν μέσουσιν ἡτρίων (= ἡτρίοις) πέπλων 1421, and a dozen more follies of the sort, one is tempted at 735 ff.:

ὡς θύγατερ, ἀξί' ἀξίων γεννητόρων  
ἢθη φιλάσσεις κούν καταισχύνασ' ἔχεις  
τοὺς σοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτόχθονας κτέ.

to write, not τοῦ σοῦ παλαιοὺς ἐκ γένους αὐτόχθονας, ποτ τοὺς γῆς παλαιοὺς ἐκγόνους, nor τοὺς σοὺς παλαιοὺς γ' ἐκ γένους, nor τρόποις παλαιοὺς σῆς πόλεως, nor anything whatever but the very plain and Philistine:

κούν καταισχύνασ' ἔχεις  
τοὺς σοὺς, παλαιῶν ἐκγόνους αὐτόχθονων.

Nor at *Hel.* 559,

should I shrink from

nor, perhaps, at *I.T.* 250,

from

nor, at 1173,

from

οὐπώποτ' εἴδον προσφερέστερον δέμας

οὐπώποτ' εἴδον προσφερεστέραν δέμας:

οὐπώποτ' εἴδον προσφερέστερον δέμας:

τοῦ ἔντελον δὲ τοῦ ἔντεν τί τοῦνομ' ἦν;

οὐπώποτ' εἴδον προσφερέστερον δέμας:

τοῦ ἔντελον δέ ; τοῦ ἔντεν τί τοῦνομ' ἦν ;

μητέρα κατειργάσαντο κοινωνῷ ξίφει

μητέρα κατειργάσαντο κοινωνῷ ξίφους.<sup>1</sup>

Least of all, I think, should I hesitate at *Xen. Hier.* ii. 17:

ὅ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑποπτεύσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι ἀντιπραττομένους τινὰς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἵδεν ὅτι οὐκ αὔξει ὀληγη τὴν πόλιν.

The first words Schaefer, with ease and, I believe, certainty, corrected to: ὅ δὲ τύραννος, ὅταν ὑποπτεύσας ἡ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι κτέ. There remains the Datism ἀντιπραττομένους, which lexicographers, an iron breed, call a middle. Cobet dropped a tear over the 'foul barbarism', toyed with ἀντιπραττομένους, rejected it rightly, and pronounced the passage incurable. But write only ἀντιπραττόμενος, and the Greek attains the Leyden standard. Like every active verb in the language, transitive or neuter, ἀντιπράττω was born with the right to a passive, and the last man in the world to contest that birthright was he who wrote at *Eq.* xi. 7 ἦν δὲ . . . καταβαίνηται καὶ ἀποχαλυώται, or, a little later in this treatise (vii. 10), αἰσθάνομαι γάρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιθυμεύομενον ἀλλὰ φροτιζόμενον μή τι πάθη. As a matter of fact, the passive exists at *Ath.* 505 C in. (*Alexis*) εἰ μή τι ταύταις (by grey hairs) ἀντιπράττεσθ' ὑπονοεῖς.

*Soph. Trach.* 1062 f.: γυνὴ δὲ θῆλυς οὖσα κούκλαν ἀνδρὸς φύσιν  
μόνη με δὴ καθείλε φασγάνου δίχα.

Medical attention for the first line has, of course, been forthcoming. Jebb and Radermacher, complying with Nauck's (or Steinhart's) prescription, change οὖσα to φύσια, and are naturally equal to the task of proving γυνὴ φύσια ἀνδρὸς φύσιν to be Greek.

<sup>1</sup> This historical fact does not stand out with clarity in *Or.* 1073 f.:

*Op.* οὐκ ἔκτανες σὴν μητέρ', ὡς ἔγε τάλας.

*Pv.* σὺν οὐλῇ καὶ κοινῇ ταῦτα καὶ πάσχειν με δεῖ.

All explanations are as futile as Hermann's σὺ μητέρ'. If the lines are to have a meaning, there is no alternative to: *Pv.* σὺν ἔμοιγε κοινῇ κτέ.

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That, however, is one of the things which go without saying: the only point which required discussion, and received not a word, was the conflation in their texts of two completely distinct modes of expression: *γυνὴ . . . θῆλυς οὐδα κούκ ἀνήρ φύσιν* (as conjectured by Fröhlich) and *γυνὴ . . . θῆλυ φύσι κούκ ἀνδρὸς φύσιν* (as read by Blaydes). Was the union legitimate and happy, or incestuous and horrible?—To that question the year of grace 1941 can have no answer—πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν μὴ σόφων | ἐς ταῦτα γιγνώσκουσιν εἰ δὲ ἄλλου λέγει | ἄμεινον ἄλλος, τῷ λέγειν ὑπερφέρει. But, in any case, Nauck's conjecture is neither certain nor, perhaps, to most eyes attractive; nor can more, if as much, be said for Pearson's reading: *κούκ ἀνδρὸς φύσις*, laconically proposed by Valckenae on Herod. viii. 38 ('*Γυνὴ δὲ θῆλυς οὐδα κούκ ἀνδρὸς φύσιν*' id est *οὐκ ἀνήρ*'). The other attempts known to me, e.g. *θῆλυς κούκ ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς φύσιν* (Mudge, Hermann), fail on technical grounds. To my own thinking, the simple, safe, and probably true correction is:

*γυνὴ δὲ θῆλυς οὐδα κ<ἄν>ανδρὸς\* φύσιν κτέ.*

*Κανανδρός*, by ordinary human myopia, passed into *κάνδρος*, precisely as *ἀνανδρίαν* passed into *ἀνδρεῖαν* at Plut. *bruta ratione uti* 987 D, or *ἀνανδρωθῆναι* (Par. E) into *ἀνδρωθῆναι* at Hippocr. *περὶ ἀέρων κτέ.* 22 fin., or *ἀνανδρότεραι* into *ἀνορθότεραι* ib. 24, or, conversely, *'Αναριεῖς* (Gomperz), by way of *ἀνδριεῖς* (V) into *ἀνανδριεῖς* (vulg.) ib. 22. What remained—*γυνὴ δὲ θῆλυς οὐδα κάνδρὸς φύσιν*—was clearly short of a syllable and a negative, and a negative which was also a syllable was happily discovered.

When exactly the same emergency arose at Ar. *Pac.* 627 οὐδὲν αἰτιῶν ἀν ἀνδρῶν κτέ., the rhythmical instincts of Blaydes' B and the Aldine, were satisfied by οὐδὲν αἰτίων ἀνδρῶν γε. At Xenoph. fr. 3, 2 Bgk. (ἡσαν <ἄν>εν στυγερῆς), A gives ησσα νευ, P ησσαν ἔστυγερῆς, VL ησαν ἐπὶ στυγερῆς; and at O.C. 664 θαρσεῖν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καίνεν τῆς ἐμῆς | γνώμης ἐπανω κτέ., the difficulty with the final cretic is best removed by the conjecture, whose author I have forgotten: κ<ἄν>εν σ' ἐμῆς. For the trajectory of σι is high above all suspicion: a few examples are Eur. *Ion* 293 καὶ πῶς ξένος σ' ἀν ἔσχεν οὖσαν ἔγγειη; *Or.* 1492 ff. ἀθνυροι δ' ολά νιν δραμόντε Βάκχαι | σκύμνον ἐν χεροῖν ὁρείαν | ξυνήρπασαν, *Tro.* 985 f. οὐκ ἀν μένονος ἀν ησυχός σ' ἐν οὐρανῷ | αὐταῖς Ἀμύκλαις ἤγαγεν πρὸς *'Ιλιον*; Ar. *Pac.* 77 ὅπως πετήσαι μ' εὐθὺν τοῦ Διός λαβάν, *Ach.* 12 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔσεισέ μου δοκεῖς τὴν καρδίαν; Soph. *Trach.* 734 ὁ μῆτερ, ὡς ἀν ἐκ τριῶν σ' ἐν εὐδόμηρ, | ἡ μηκέτ' εἶναι ζῶσαν ἡ κτέ.

These hyperbata, in which an integral part of one clause appears suddenly in the midst of another, are at times startling to the modern, but ancient nerves were strong. The wisest of the Athenians wrote πρὶν ἀν ταράξας πιαρ ἔξελη γάλα (Solon fr. 36, 21 Bgk.) with a serene assurance that his countrymen would know what was shaken and what taken out, and Euripides could trust his auditors to disentangle νῦν δ' ἔχει | αὐτόματα, πράξας, τάγάθ', εὐτυχέστατα, ορ καὶ μὴν τρέφων μὲν ὡς σε παῖδα χρῆν τρέφειν | σώσας τε τὸν ἐμόν, εἶχε ἀν καλὸν κλέος *Hec.* 1224, ορ αὐτὴ δ' ὅπισθε δέσμοι' ἔχουσα τοὺς ξένουν | ἔστειχε χεροῖν *I.T.* 1333, ορ ὡς τάλλα γ' εἴπας, εἰπερ εὐτυχήσομεν, | κάλλισθ', ἐλόντες σκύμνον ἀνοσίου πατρός *Or.* 1212, ορ ὅπως δ' ἔρωμαι, μή τι σήν δάκω φρένα, | δέδοιχ' ἀ χρῆξα *Ph.* 383,—and much else.

Hence there is, on the score of language, no objection to writing at O.C. 378 ff.:

τὸ κοῖλον "Αργος βὰς φυγὰς προσλαμβάνει  
κῆδος τε κλεινὸν καὶ ξυασπιστὰς φίλους,  
ώς αὐτίκ' "Αρεος ἡ τὸ Καδμείων πέδον  
πάλη καθέξων ἡ πρὸς οὐρανὸν βίβων.

κλεινὸν Elmsley: κανόν || "Αρεος\*: "Αργος (from 378) | πάλη! F. W. Schmidt: τιμῆ.

<sup>1</sup> I select this word from his spirited: ὡς ἀστυ πάτριον καὶ τὸ Καδμείων πέδον | πάλη καθέξων ἡ πεσῶν βανῶν φόνῳ.

Any version of this passage ought, I believe, to start from the assumption that *καθέξων* is untouchable. The temptation to alter it to a neuter must have been sore, yet it survives in every manuscript but the deeply interpolated A, and it stood even there, until, on second thoughts, it was doctored into *καθέξον*. For changing it there could be no excuse, unless the *"Ἄργος"* immediately above it were vitally necessary and clear from any external ground of suspicion: actually, the word is otiose and its genesis plain at a glance. Nor should *καθέλξων* be written: even the few passages cited by Blaydes serve to show that *πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶν* needs no such antithesis, and moreover the word itself has barely a foothold in tragedy—it occurs in Aeschylus not once, in Sophocles not once, once—but in the sense of 'launch', for which it was indispensable—in Euripides; and though dogmatism on such points is folly, I believe such a phrase as Pearson's *τιμῆς καθέλξων* in the Oxford text to be an impossibility. As to *τιμῆ*, the word has been much doubted, and with reason: whence the conjectures on the lines of Blaydes' *αἰχμῆ*, which was repeated by Cobet and has made proselytes. Schneidewin rendered, 'mit Siegeshre', but the first two syllables of his substantive beg the question. If in a majority of cases, *τιμῆ* may with approximate accuracy, but not more, be translated by 'honour', that is no reason in the world for supposing that it can bear every, or any, specialized sense of 'honour', such as that assumed here, with its distinctively medieval cast of thought and diction. Unless Schneidewin could produce a phrase or two on the pattern of, say, *μοχεσάμενοι μετὰ τιμῆς διεκρίθησαν ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων*, 'Ehre' is here no more a version of *τιμῆ* than *τὸ πεδίον τῆς τιμῆς* is a version of 'the field of honour'. If *"Ἄργος"* and *τιμῆ* must be emended, the attempt given above seems reasonable. The metaphor, of course, is pan-Hellenic (cf. e.g., Ar. ap. Ath. 154 ε' ἐς Οἰδίπον δὲ παιδεῖ, διπτύχω κόρω, | *"Ἄρης κατέσκηψ'*, ἐς τε μονομάχον πάλης | ἀγῶναν νῦν ἔστασιν, Eur. *Heracl.* 159 ἐς πάλην καθισταται | δορὸς τὸ πράγμα). The order of words is not logical: *"Ἄρεος* precedes a pair of disjunctive clauses, as though it were destined to play a part in both; as matters turn, it depends upon a substantive in the first and remains without influence on the second. But the hyperbaton is gentleness itself: if a parallel is needed, Soph. *El.* 913—which by no means stands alone—is adequate: *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ μητρὸς οὐθὲν ὁ νῦν φιλεῖ | τοιαῦτα πράσσειν οὐτε δρῶν* ἐλάνθανεν. The confusions assumed are perfectly normal: *"Ἄργος" = "Ἄρεος* and *τι = π* may be passed in silence; and *Μ* for *ΑΛ*, *ΑΔ*, *ΔΑ*, is a familiar spectacle. At 243 above, *πατρὸς ὑπὲρ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ άντομαι*, Mekler by a model conjecture restored *πατρὸς ὑπὲρ ΤΟΥΤΑ* ΑΘΛΙΟΥ άντομαι, which ought long ago to have ousted Hermann's *πατρὸς ὑπὲρ τούμου μόνου άντομαι* and all its kin. At *Trach.* 791, *τὸ δυσπάρευον λέκτρον ἐνδαούμενος*, there is a reviser's variant ('Σ"' in Pearson's notation) *ἐΜΜΑτούμενος*, which, according to Liddell and Scott, is 'for μασώμενος': it is obviously for nothing in *rērum natura* except *ἐΝΔΑτούμενος*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, at *Luc. calumn.* 3, the margin triumphs; for in the written texts there stands *εὐθὺς ἔαδε μηρίειν καὶ βοῆς ἐνεπίμπλα τὰ βασίλεια*, and *ἔαδε μηρίειν* was treated with respect as a lyric fragment, till at long last the margin

<sup>1</sup> Like others of his variants, it must derive ultimately from an uncial manuscript of another family. It is as childishly honest as his οὐδὲΝ ΛΙ-άντορα for οὐδὲν ἀζορθ' at *O.C.* 134, his δρό μον μέμνησθ' ὅταν (ι. μεμνῆσθ' ἔτ' ἀν.,\* and for proof see Cobet, *N.L.* 223-6) for μέμνησθ' ὅτι (ΛΑ<sup>+</sup>: ἔτι dett., vulg.) at *O.T.* 1401, or possibly even—though it may be foolhardy to say so—his τῆνδε θεοπίλει γραφήν for τῆνδε θεοθ' ἐπιστροφήν at *O.T.* 133 (ἐπαξίως γάρ Φοῖβος, ἀξίως δὲ σὺ | πρὸ τοῦ θανόντος τῆνδε θεοθ' ἐπιστροφήν). Jebb, with Pearson after him, selected this as the crowning instance of his 'worthless conjectures, remark-

able, in some instances, for their temerity'. That it is a conjecture, and worthless, and temerarious, must be granted; but it may be doubted, in the first place, whether it is a conjecture by 'Σ', and, in the second, whether it is a conjecture upon τῆνδε θεοθ' ἐπιστροφήν. In some early manuscript, I should imagine, ΘΕΕ was accidentally omitted after ΘΕC in the sequence ΕΘΕΕΘΕ-ΕΠΙΣΤΡΟΦΗΝ. What remained for the consideration of his successor was τῆνδε θεοπίλει γραφήν for τῆνδε θεοθ' ἐπιστροφήν, and, by taking thought, he arrived happily at the version which Σ dutifully recorded for the good of an unthankful posterity.

of *F<sup>o</sup>* furnished the variant, *belle comme de la prose*, ἐΜεμήνει; just as, conversely, at Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 8 ἐΜηρε has almost certainly to yield place to Uebelen's (or Pantazidis') ἐΔΑκνε. At 906 below, the variants οὐ Μεθῆκ' and οὐδ' Αφῆκ' may go back to the same source; and at *I.A.* 1064 (φοβά<δα> μοῦσαν), ΔΑ has been annihilated by M, though in Hesychius they cohabit peacefully s.v. χέρΔΑΜΟς (= χερΜΑΔΙΟΣ). λίθος πληρῶν τὴν χείρα. But examples are, in reality, completely superfluous.

To return for a moment to the haplography of *αν*, I give what seems to me another case, though its interest is not great:

Eur. *Cycl.* 363 ff.

χαιρέτω μὲν αὖτις ἀδε  
χαιρέτω δὲ θυμάτων  
ἀποβάμιος ἀν ἔχει θυσίαν  
Κύκλων Αἰτναῖος ξενικῶν  
κρεῶν κεχαρμένος βορᾶ.

Since, in 365, Murray's ingenious ἀθυσίαν is, I think, too artificial to be likely, the problem is to convert ἔχει into an anapaest. Spengel's ἀν <ἀν>έχει suggests itself, but has the disadvantage of apparently meaning nothing; while Hartung's <οδ> ἔχει and Wilamowitz's <παρ>έχει leave one cold. In view of the ease with which *αγ* and *εχ* are interchanged, the best that can be done may perhaps be:

ἀποβάμιος ἀν <ἀν>άγει\* θυσία[ν].

For the phrase is pure Greek from Herodotus far into the Christian era (e.g. *Hdt.* ii. 60 ὁράζοντο μεγάλα ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, 2 *Macc.* i. 18 οἰκοδομήσας τό τε ἵερον καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀνήγεικε θυσίαν, *Acts* vii. 41 ἀνήγαγον θυσίαν τῷ εἰδώλῳ, etc.). There is seemingly a good parallel in Philo (*θυσίας ἀθέντους ἀνήγαγον καὶ χορούς ἀχορεύτους ιστασαν*), but my reference is wrong, and I have now no recollection where the place is to be found.

At *Andr.* 427, this confusion of *γ* and *χ* recurs in its simplest form. The passage goes:

Μεν. λάβεσθέ μοι τῆσδ', ἀμφελίξαντες χέρας,  
δμῶες λόγους γάρ οὐ φίλους ἀκούσεται.  
ἔγώ σ', ἵν' ἀγνόν βωμὸν ἐκλίποις θεᾶς,  
προύτεινα παιδὸς θάνατον κτέ.

For ἔγώ σ' Hermann, in the sacred interest of grammar, proposed ἔγώ δ', and Lobeck ἔγωγ', in which he was anticipated by a recent hand of the Vaticanus. As neither proposal does much credit to its famous author, though both have found followers, Murray conjectured εἰδώς, and Kirchhoff at one time tried ἐλών σ'. I have found no mention of what seems nearly self-evident:

ἔχω σ'.\* ἵν' ἀγνόν βωμὸν ἐκλίποις θεᾶς,  
προύτεινα κτέ.

The phrase might dispense with illustration, but I quote *Heliod.* x. 35 ἔχω σε, ὁ πολέμει. ἔχω σε, ὁ παλαμινάει, and, more especially, *Or.* 1617, where Menelaus, caught by Orestes in the self-same trap which here he has baited for Andromache, resigns the struggle with the two words: ἔχεις με, and receives the answer: σαυτὸν σύ γ' ἔλαβες κακός γεγός.

At Ar. *Plut.* 422, the same confusion is complicated, as in the passage of the *Cyclops*, by haplography. Indignant Poverty, her very existence threatened, bursts on the view of Blepsidemus and Chremylus. To her first tirade (ὦ θερμὸν ἔργον κάνοντος καὶ παράνομον | τολμῶντε δρᾶν ἀνθρωπαρίω κτέ.) Blepsidemus replies: 'Oh Hercules!' To her second (ἔγώ γάρ ὑμᾶς ἔξολῶ κακοὺς κακῶς, | τόλμημα γάρ τολμάτον

οὐκ ἀνάσχετον κτέ.) Chremylus replies, according to the *Venetus*: 'Who are you? For you seem to me to be pale'; according to the *Ravennas*: 'Who are you? For pale at all events you seem to me to be'. The two versions are thus:

- a. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς; ὡχρὰ γάρ εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς (VU)  
 b. σὺ δ' εἰ τίς; ὡχρὰ μὲν γάρ εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς (R).

A third (*σὺ δ' εἰ τίς; ὡχρὰ μὲν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς*) presumably arose from *a*, through a superscribed *μέν* (*ώχρα γάρ*) being taken for a correction instead of an addition. Meineke, dissatisfied, wished to delete everything save *σὺ δ' εἰ τίς*: Blaydes thought of *ώχρα γ' εἰν' ἐρινός μοι δοκεῖς*, while Velsen proposed *ώχρα μανάς*—though the Furies were black as the raven's wing, and Maenads were usually flushed with insolence and wine and exercise and culpable passions. Bamberg would banish the pallor, which *ΣV* considered might be due to malnutrition consequent upon straitened circumstances (*ώχροὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ πένητες διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἵκανός φαγεῖν*), by writing: *σὺ δ' εἰ τίς, ὡ γραῦ; μανάς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς*. It is curious that, after going so far as *σὺ δ' εἰ τίς, ὡ γραῦ* (which seems to me indisputable),<sup>1</sup> he should not have completed the line as the line asks audibly to be completed:

*σὺ δ' εἰ τίς, ὡ γραῦ; <γραῦς>\* γάρ εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς.*

There may be closer parallels, but I give what I can remember: *Thesm.* 582 τί δ' ἔστιν, ὡ παῖ; παῖδα γάρ σ' εἰκός καλεῖν, *Vespr.* 1297 τί δ' ἔστιν, ὡ παῖ; παῖδα γάρ, κάν ή γέρων, | καλεῖν δίκαιον ὅστις ἀν πληράς λάθη, *Eccr.* 1071 ἀτάρ τί τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔστι, ἀντιβολῶ, τοιτί ποτε; | πότερον πληθηκος . . . | η γραῦς . . . ;

Eur. *I.A.* 231 ff.

ναῦν δ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἡλυθον  
 καὶ θέαν ἀθέσφατον,  
 τὰν γυναικεῖον ὅψιν ὀμμάτων  
 ὡς πλήσαμι, μείλινον ἀδονάν.

Since *μεῖλινον* is not *μεῖλιχον*, and, if it were, would remain a dactyl, Weil hazarded a non-existent *μεῖλιν*, Wecklein *νεᾶνν*, England *μελίφρον*, Hermann *μᾶλλον ἀδονάν*, Headlam *λιτόν* or *ἀμεμπτον* or *ἀλεπτον* or *ἀδεμον*. Murray proposed *πλήσαμι*, *ἐλεωνάν ἀδονάν*, comparing the famous passage (*Hdt.* vii. 45 f.) where Xerxes wept: but the feminine of *ἐλεωνάς* would seem to be always *ἐλεωή*, and, in any case, there are, I think, no such depths nor any such justice of feeling in this wooden ditty of the junior Euripides, if his it be. *Μεῖλινον*, as a whole, appears to defy emendation; but eject *μει* as the offspring of *μι*, and there is no difficulty in eliciting:

τὰν γυναικεῖον ὅψιν ὀμμάτων  
 ὡς πλήσαμι, λίχνον ἀδονάν\*.

The tradition would naturally arise from *ὡς πλήσαμι μιλίχον ἀδονάν*—the deletion of the dittography going unnoticed, and the *v* being read as a correction, not a supplement, of *χ*. The phrase may not sparkle, but for that reason suits the better with its environment: linguistically, it is beyond reproach. For *λίχνος* is, as the ancients defined it, *πολυπράγμων* (see, for instance, *Hipp.* 912 f. ή γάρ ποθοῦσα πάντα καρδία κλύειν | κάν τοῖς κακοῖσι λίχνος οὐσ' ἀλίσκεται—where Monk cites, from Porson's margin, *Synes. Dio. 44 A Petav. ἐρεβίζει καὶ ἀναρριπίζει τὴν ἐν τῇ φύσει λιχνείαν ὑφ' ἡς ἔκαστος ἔστι πολυπράγμων*); it is construed with a genitive (Eur. fr. 1063 βλέπουσά τ' ἐς πᾶν καὶ παροῦσα πανταχοῦ | τὴν ὅψιν ἐμπλήσασ' ἀπῆλλακται κακῶν | τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰεὶ τοῦ κεκρυμμένου λίχνον); it is applicable to pleasures in general (*περὶ τὰς θεονάς λίχνα 'Theano', Epistology. Gr. Hercher, p. 603, 26, etc.*) and to spectacles in particular (*όμοιώς καὶ περὶ τὰς θέας οἱ μὲν εἰσιν ἀπληστοι καὶ λίχνοι D. Chrys. xxxii. 54*). Finally,

<sup>1</sup> For the eternal confusion of *a* and *au*, see, for instance, Bast, *C.P.* 705 f., 914 f.

it is a constant epithet of the eyes, not only with the amatory connotation (*αἰθε γάρ, ὁ κούρουσιν ἐπ' ὅμματα λίχνα φέροντες* Callim. ap. Ps.-Luc. *Am.* 49; *ἐν μοι μόνον οὐδε τὸ λίχνον | ὅμμα, Μνήσκον ὄραν* Meleag. in *A.P.* xii. 106; cf. Boissonade on Philostr. *Ερ.* 53), but also with no implication beyond that of 'covetous' (*τὰ χρυσία δὲ ποι; καὶ τὰ κόσμια ποι; λαποδότας [δὲ] \* αὐτὰ καὶ κακούργους παρασκευάζονται καὶ τοῖς λίχνοις ὄφθαλμοις* Clem. *Paed.* iii, § 37, p. 276 P.).

*Ion* 283 ff.

*Ian.* Μακραὶ δὲ χάρος ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλημένος;

*Kr.* τί δ' ἴστορεῖς τόδε; ὡς μ' ἀνέμητράς τινος.

*Ian.* τιμᾶ σφε *Πύθιος* ἀστραπαί τε *Πύθιαι*.

*Kr.* τιμᾶ τιμᾶς ὡς μήποτ' ὄφελόν σφ' ἰδεῖν.

For *Πύθιος*, in 285, I venture nothing: as to the following verse, there is at least the cold comfort that it is hardly possible to fail more disastrously than other people. For Wecklein's catalogue of suggestions is, in the main, horripilant: 'τιμᾶ τιμᾶ ὡς] τιμᾶ, τί τιμᾶ; Hermann, τιμᾶ σφε, τιμᾶ Badham, τιμᾶ, τί μοι; ὡς Scaliger, τιμᾶς τί μήν; ὡς anon., τιμᾶ γε τιμᾶ Jacobs, τιμῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς Wakefield, τιμᾶς γ' ἀτίμως Burges, ἄτιμα τιμᾶ Schaefer, τιμᾶς γ' ἄτιμος Bothe, τιμᾶς τάλαις ὡς Kirchhoff, τιμᾶς στυγήθως ὡς Kayser, τιμᾶς γάρ, ἀλλ' ὡς Badham again, τιμῶν γ' ἀτιμᾶ Naber, τιμᾶς γ' ἀτιμῶν Kuiper, τιμᾶς, τί ματεῖ; Bayfield'. But surely there is a simple and rational change, which produces a simple and rational verse:

*Kr.* τιμᾶς *μάτητην* δ\* ὡς μήποτ' ὄφελόν σφ' ἰδεῖν.

The syllable *μα* was written once instead of twice, and some overwrought and perplexed eye took *την* for *τιμᾶ*, as another took ἀβροπήνων for ἀβροτίμων at Aesch. *Ag.* 694.—The interchange of *A* and *Δ*—the only corruption, Nauck once remarked plaintively, of which his more conservative reviewers had ever heard—seems possible also at 916:

δ δ' ἐμὸς γενέτας καὶ σὸς Ἀμαθῆς | οἰωνοῖς ἔρει συλαθεῖς.

That *l* took up his pen and wrote quickly *καὶ σὸς* *γ'* goes without saying: Kirchhoff tried ἀπευθῆς, but *Δμαθεῖς* is easy and unobjectionable. The participle recurs at *Tro.* 175, *Alc.* 127, *I.T.* 199, 230; and the rhyme with *συλαθεῖς* is harmless—compare *Her.* 541 f. οὐδὲ αἰσχύνοματι | τοῖς σοῖς λόγουσι, τῇ τύχῃ δὲ ἀλγύνοματι, and a host of analogous passages.—Two simple cases of haplography, of the sort assumed above, may also lurk in the play. At 632, LP give:

εἴη γ' ἐμοὶ μέτρια μὴ λυπουμένω.

The vulgate is Lenting's rather primitive εἴη δ' ἐμογε κτέ., but it seems more probable that *ENT* was lost after *EM* and the original went:

εἴη γε μέτρια μὴ λυπουμένω.

One remembers Macaria's εἴη γε μέντοι μηδέν (*Heracl.* 593)—which is, indeed, not easy to forget—and the particles are fairly common in tragedy.—Again, at 1489 ff., Dr. Murray reads on his own conjecture: παρθένια δ' ἐμᾶς *λάθρα* ματέρος | σπάργαν' ἀμφίβολά σοι τάδ' ἐνῆλθα κερκίδος ἐμᾶς πλάνους, and quotes Badham's ἐκάς for ἐμᾶς. His supplement, of course, gives the sense and may be right, but I fail to see why he preferred it either to *λάθρα* ματέρος or to ἐμᾶς *έκάς* μ.

*Trach.* 417 ff.

*Ag.* τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, ἦν ἐπεμψας ἐς δόμους,  
κάτοισθα δήπου; *Li.* φημι· πρὸς τί δ' ἴστορεῖς;  
*Ag.* οὐκον σὺ ταύτην, ἦν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ὄρας,  
Ίσλην ἔφασκες Εὐρύτου σπορὰν ἄγειν;

The spaced words are generally regarded as corrupt, and even the most charitable

of readers is bound to admit that appearances at least are against them: Iole is not there to be looked at whether knowingly or unknowingly, and the paraphrase in the scholia, *ἥν προσποιῆ ἀγνοεῖν*, is, as Radermacher says, a pious wish—neither less nor more. Nor do the emendations strike one as curiously felicitous. They proceed, in the main, upon the lines of *ἥν ὥπ' ἀγνοίᾳ στέγεις* (Reiske), *ἥσπερ ἀγνοιαν θροεῖς* (Herwerden), *ἥσπερ ἀγνοεῖς σποράς* (Wecklein), *ἥς σύ γ' ἀγνοεῖς γονάς* (Schneidewin), *ἥν ἔφασκες ἀγνοεῖν οὐ ἥσπερ ἀγνοίᾳ σ' ἔχει* (Blaydes). None show the slightest regard for technical probability: all start from the assumption that the emended clause carried a reference to Iole. On that assumption, it is unlikely that anything can be done: discard it, and it becomes possible to extract from the tradition, by perfectly fair means, a reading which would never have caused a moment's difficulty to any reader of the *Trachiniae*:

οῦκον σὺ ταῦτην—*μή μ' ὥπ' ἀγνοίᾳ σρα—\**  
*'Ιόλην ἔφασκες Εὑρύτου σπορὰν ἀγειν;*

The source of the error and the sense of the parenthesis are clear, nor is there anything unusual about the little piece of bluster: compare, for instance, the messenger himself at 404 above (*οὐτος, βλέψ' ἀδε. πρὸς τὸν ἐννέπειν δοκεῖς;*), Oedipus at *O.T. 1121* (*δεῦρό μοι φάνει βλέπων | ὅο' ἀν σ' ἔρωτά;*), or Demeas at Men. *Sam. 97* (*Παρ. ἡ μήποτ' ἀρ—Δη. οὐτος βλέπε δεῦρ', ἀδόλος λέγε.*).

This obliteration of parentheses has left its mark on most ancient texts.<sup>1</sup> One verse of the *Helen* it seems to have laid in ruins:

Eur. *Hel. 1222 ff.* Θεοκ. πόσιν δ' ἄθαπτον ἔλιπεν ἡ κρύπτει χθονί;  
 Ελ. ἄθαπτον οὐ γάρ τῶν ἐμῶν τλήμων κακῶν.  
 Θεοκ. τῶνδ' εἰνεκ' ἔταμες βοστρύχους ξανθῆς κόμης;  
 Ελ. φίλος γάρ ἐστιν ὁς ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐνθάδ' ὁν.

Helen is seeking, with the maximum of tragic irony and a minimum of plain lying, to convince Theoclymenus that Menelaus, now happily at her side, has paid the debt of nature. The darkness of the last line Wecklein endeavoured to dispel by: *φίλος γάρ ἐστι πόντιος τε κάνθαδ' ὁν*, and this is the one proposal honoured by a place in his apparatus. His appendix, on the other hand, bristles with emendations: *φίλος γάρ ἡμῶν, δέοπτος, ἐστὶ καὶ θανάτον* (Herwerden), *φίλος γάρ ἡμῶν δύοσις ἐστὶ καὶ θανάτον* (Holzner), *φίλος γάρ ἐστι τίς πότι ἐστιν ἐνθάδ' ὁν*; (Ribbeck), *φίλος γάρ ἐστιν ὁς ποτ' ἦν, νῦν ἐνθάδ' ὁν* Rauchenstein, *φίλος γάρ ἐστιν ὡς πόσις πρὶν ἐμὲ φιλῶν* F. W. Schmidt, *φίλος γάρ ἦν, ὃν πότι ἐστιν, ἐνθάδ' ὁν* Kirchhoff (comprehensible as always), and so on to a grand total of eighteen. Murray ingeniously suggested: *ἐστιν γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς πότι ἐνθάδ' ὁν*

<sup>1</sup> It is possible, indeed, that the messenger has already been a sufferer. For vv. 335-8 run thus:

Αγ. αὐτοῦ γε πράτων βαιὸν ἀμμέναος, ὅπως  
 μάθηται, ἀνεν τῶνδ', οὐστινάς τ' ἀγεις ἔχω  
 ὁν τ' οὐδὲν εἰσήκουνας ἐκμάθηταις ἀ δεῖ.  
 τούτων ἔχω γάρ πάντ' ἐπιστήμην ἔγω.

The last line bears *prima facie* no resemblance to Greek, and Greek it is certainly not proved to be by Jebb; who, faced with the task of producing an adverbial *πάντα* accompanying a transitive verb with a direct object expressed, alleges merely two instances of a usage which no man ever doubted—that of *πάντα* accompanying an intransitive verb (*γνώμης πατρός πάντα* ὅποισιν ἔστανται *Ant. 640*, *πάντα ήγουμένην Phil. 99*). The few conjectures carry no conviction: the best may be Wakefield's *κάρτη* (cf. Eur.

*Med. 328 ὡς πατρίς, ὡς σου κάρτη νῦν μνεῖαν ἔχω*. Radermacher, after Nauck and Blaydes, suggested: *τούτων ἔχω γάρ πάντ' ἐπιστήμων πέλα*. A better verse, however, could be fabricated with the change of only one letter:

*τούτων—ἔχω γάρ πάντ\*—ἐπιστήμων ἔγω:* ‘these things I know, for I am in possession of all the facts.’ The line seems to me quite tolerable: it is possible, indeed, that, had it been the tradition, the commentators, who are by no means always wrong, would have pronounced it to ‘characterize admirably the fussy self-importance of the messenger’.—*Ἐχω = cognitum habeo* is, of course, common enough: cf. e.g. Eur. *Or. 1119 f.* *Πν. ἔσμεν ἐς οἰκους δῆθεν ὡς θανόμενοι. | Ορ. ἔχω τοούστον, τάπιλουπα δ' οὐκ* ἔχω, Blaydes on *Trach. 318*.

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φίλος. To myself the look of the verse suggests rather some variation on the familiar theme of γέγηθά σ' ὡς γέγηθ' ὄρῶν I.A. 649, κακὸν τόδ' εἶπας οἰς κακὸν λέγεις *Hel.* 125, ἥκει, μάλοι γάρ οἱ σφ' ἔγώ χρῆσα μολεὺν *ib.* 1201, ἔξεις δέ μ' οἰαν χρή σ' ἔχειν *ib.* 1407, εἰσ' οὐπέρ εἰσιν *Soph. O.C.* 336, with all the rest which, in the consulate of Plancus, we dutifully admired. Nor is such a variation hard to produce, if one corrects, with just a shade of severity:

φίλος γάρ—ἔστι δ' οὐπέρ ἔστιν—ἐνθάδ' ἦν.>

For the confusion of περ and ποτ' is easy; and if, for the (n+1)th time, the parenthesis escaped notice, how, by the mediocre scribe of a mediocre manuscript, was φίλος γάρ ἔστι δ' οὐ ποτ' ἔστιν ἐνθάδ' ἦν to be altered to a show of sense and a show of grammar otherwise than—upon my theory—it has been altered? That the interjected words are anticipatory—for slower and more methodical races would place them after ἐνθάδ' ἦν—only makes them the more idiomatic. The type is merely that of Thuc. i. 26 fin. οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἔστι δὲ ἵσθιμος τὸ χωρίον) ἐπολύροκουν τὴν πόλιν, or Lys. xii. 15 ἔκεινον δὲ διαλεγομένου Θεόγυμδη—ἔμπειρος γάρ ὁν ἐτέγχανον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ γῆς ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἴη—ἔδόκει μοι ταύτη πειρᾶσθαι, and examples are common everywhere and at all periods. The boldest I remember seeing lies at the door of Phalaris who steeled his pen to write: οὐ μόνον ζῶν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀποθανὼν (οὐ πᾶσι συμβαίνει τοῖς τελευτῆσιν) ἐπιλαθοίμην ἄν (*Ep.* 51 Hercher).

Eur. I.A. 650 ff. Ιφ. καπεῖτα λείβεις δάκρυν' ἀπ' ὅμμάτων σέθεν;

Αγ. μακρὰ γάρ ἡμίν ἡπιοῦσθ' ἀπονοσία.

Ιφ. οὐκ οἴδε ὁ τι φήσι, οὐκ οἴδα, φίλτατ' ἐμοὶ πάτερ.

Αγ. συνετὰ λέγοντα μᾶλλον εἰς οἰκτόνον μ' ἄγεις.

Ιφ. ἀσύνετά νυν ἔροῦμεν, εἰ σέ γ' εὐθρανῶ.

655 Αγ. παπαῖ, τὸ συγάνοι σέθεν, σὲ δ' ἦνεσα.

Ιφ. μέν, ὁ πάτερ, κατ' οἰκον ἐπὶ τέκνοις σέθεν.

Αγ. θέλω γε τὸ θέλειν δ' οὐκ ἔχων ἀλγύνομαι.

Ιφ. ὅλοιντο λόγχαι καὶ τὰ Μενέλεων κακά.

Αγ. ἀλλοις ὀλεῖ ποθ' ἀμέ διολέσαντ' ἔχει.

660 Ιφ. ὡς πολὺν ἀπῆσθα χρόνον ἐν Αἰλίδος μυχοῖς.

Αγ. καὶ νῦν γέ μ' ἵσχει δή τι μῆ στέλλειν στρατόν.

Ιφ. ποῦ τοὺς Φρύγας λέγονταν φύκισθαι, πάτερ;

Αγ. οὐ μῆποτ' οἰκεῖν ὥφελ' οἱ Πριάμον Πάρις.

Ιφ. μακράν γ' ἀπαίρεις, ὁ πάτερ, λιπὼν ἐμέ.

665 Αγ. εἰς ταῦταν, ὁ θύγατερ, ἥκεις σῶ πατρί.

Ιφ. εἴην | εἴη δὲ καλὸν μοι σοὶ τ' ἀγεν σύμπλον ἐμέ.

The attempts to render 652 at once metrical and, in view of Agamemnon's reply, rather noticeably intelligent may be said, without pessimism, to have failed:<sup>1</sup> the fact that Murray is reduced to citing Weil's: οὐκ οἴδα θ' ὁ τι φήσι κοῖδα, φίλτατ' ὁ πάτερ and to proposing for his own part: οὐ, φίλταθ', ὁ τι φήσι οἴδα, πάτερ, οὐκ οἴδα, μοι is in itself perfectly conclusive. Nor has the massed attack upon 665 gained much ground. The emendations overrun fifteen closely printed lines of Wecklein's broad page: but, when a list opens with ὁ θύγατερ, ἥκεις καὶ σύγ' εἰς ταῦταν πατρί under the name of Porson, continues with ἐσ ταῦτ' ἔγώ σοι, σύ τε, θύγατερ, ἥκεις πατρί under the name of Hermann, and concludes with the words 'pro genuino amisso interpolatum versum

<sup>1</sup> Wecklein transmits to posterity: οὐκ οἴδα, φήσι, οὐκ οἴδε, ἄφιλά γ' ἐμοὶ, πάτερ Hartung, σύ γ' οἴδε θ' τι λέγεις καὶ σύνοιδ' ἔγώ, πάτερ οὐ οὐκ οἴδε φήσι κλύνοντα φιλτάτων ἐμοὶ Vitelli.

arbitratur Wilamowitz', it may almost be taken as read.<sup>1</sup> The excisions—[651-2] England, [652-5] Dindorf, [652-7] Wecklein, [665-6] Paley—are mere desperation.

It appears to me that emendation is defeated because emendation is not required. We have each line precisely as it was written:<sup>2</sup> both are interpolations composed in one of the long tale of years when the Turk was still in Asia and the second syllable of θύγατερ was common (Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. et Dosic.* i. 212 ὄμοι, λέγων, θύγατερ, ὄμοι παιδίον—*et sexcenties*). An interpolation, however, presupposes an interpolator—a man of like passions with ourselves, and therefore acting from motives often foolish and not rarely discreditable, but always discernible to a seeing eye. And here the motive for once happens to be neither foolish nor discreditable nor even obscure. The scribe or corrector of some progenitor of LP, arriving at 651, found two consecutive verses of Agamemnon (*Ay.* μακρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡπιοῦν ἀπονοία. | *Ay.* συνετὰ λέγονα μᾶλλον εἰς οἰκτόν μ' ἄγεις): arriving at 664, he found similarly two consecutive verses of Iphigenia (*Iφ.* μακρὰν γ' ἀπαίρεις, ὡ πάτερ, λιπὼν ἐμέ. | *Iφ.* φεῦ· εἴθ' ἦν καλόν μοι σοὶ τ' ἄγειν σύμπλον ἐμέ). He drew the pardonable conclusion that in each place a verse had been lost, and in each place he repaired the damage according to his lights; which, after all, were no dimmer than those of, say, Grotius or Casaubon. The error lay solely in his assumption that something was missing. For the passage, as it left the author's hand, must have run thus:

- 650 *Iφ.* κάπειτα λείβεις δάκρυ' ἀπ' ὄμμάτων σέθεν;  
 651 *Ay.* μακρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡπιοῦν ἀπονοία.  
 662 *Iφ.* ποῦ τούς Φρύγας λέγονας ὡκισθαι, πάτερ;  
 663 *Ay.* οὐ μήποτ' οἰκεῖν ὠφελ' ὁ Πριάμον Πάρις.  
 664 *Iφ.* μακρὰν ἀπαίρεις, ὡ πάτερ, λιπὼν ἐμέ.  
 653 *Ay.* συνετὰ λέγονα μᾶλλον εἰς οἰκτόν μ' ἄγεις.\*

Then onward, in the traditional order, up to

- 661 *Ay.* καὶ νῦν γέ μ' ἵσχει δή τι μὴ στέλλειν στρατόν.  
 666 *Iφ.* φεῦ·  
 εἴθ' ἦν καλόν μοι σοὶ τ' ἄγειν σύμπλον ἐμέ.

The origin of the two apparent gaps was simply that 662-4, omitted through the homoarchon (μακρὰ... μακρὰ) of 651 and 664, were appended at the foot of the page, and that the page had unluckily closed with a verse of Iphigenia. With the proposed order, all goes equably; and on the ear of Agamemnon his daughter's μακράν must have fallen with a sound of which but the faintest echo is audible in his reply.

The process of corruption postulated is, of course, a familiar enough hypothesis: more than hypothetical it can, in the nature of things, seldom be—as, for instance, in the *Aetna*, where only in the vanished Florentine fragment is the sequence preserved: 256 *torquemur miseri in parvis premimurque labore*, | 278 *scrutamur rimas et vertimus omne profundum*, | 279 *quaeritur argenti semen, nunc aurea vena*, | *torquentur flamma terrae ferroque domantur*; while, in all extant manuscripts, 278-80 stand senseless and forlorn between 277 *non subito pallere sono, non credere subter* and 279 *caelestis migrasse minas aut Tartara rumpi*.

The *Heraclidae* furnishes another clear example, which may perhaps be mentioned, though my remedy has been anticipated. Vv. 682 ff. run as follows:

- Θε. ἥκιστα πρὸς σοῦ μῶρον ἦν εἰπεῖν ἔπος.  
 Ιο. καὶ μὴ μετασχεῖν γ' ἀλκίμουν μάχης φύλοις.  
 Θε. οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ὅψει τραῦμα μὴ δρώσης χερός.

<sup>1</sup> It is enough to say that the proposals range from ὡ θύγατερ, εἰς ταῦτὸν οὐ αὐτὸν γ' ἥκεις πατρὶ (Bothe) to εἰς ταῦτὸν, ὡ παῖ, συμφορᾶς ἥκεις πατρὶ

(England).

<sup>2</sup> At least, when ἥκεις in 665 has been altered into the clearly intended ἥξεις.

- [651-2] 685 *Io.* τί δ' οὐ σθένομε κάν έγώ δι' ἀσπιδος;  
 Θε. σθένους ἄν, ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν αὐτὸς ἀν πέσοις.  
*Io.* οὐδεὶς ἔμ' ἔχθρων προσβλέπων ἀνέξεται.  
 Θε. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς τῶν, η ποτ' ἦν δύμη σθένειν.

In this, 684 was quite clearly written to be the answer to 687. Rearrange the verses, with Schliack, in this order: 682, 683, 688, 687, 684, etc.: the passage is perfect, and the source of the mischief self-evident. The οὐκ ἔστι of 688 and the οὐκ ἔστι' of 684 led to the omission of 688 and 687: they were first added in the margin; then some one, in doubt as to their proper place, inverted them and gave them an asylum after 686. On the other hand, rearrange the passage with Wecklein, as in his text, or with Wilamowitz, as he is cited by Murray, and not the ghost of a reason is visible for their transpositions—they are purely arbitrary and completely valueless.

The case is the same at *H.F.* 1117 ff., which I give with Murray's note:

- Αμ. ὁρᾶς γάρ αὐτός, εἰ φρονῶν ηδη κυρεῖς.  
*Ηρ.* εἴπ', εἰ τι κανὸν ὑπογράφῃ τώμῳ βίᾳ.  
 Αμ. εἰ μηκέθ' "Αἰδον βάκχος εἰ, φράσαιμεν ἄν.  
*Ηρ.* παπαῖ, τόδ' ὡς ὑποπτον ἡνίξω πάλιν.  
 Αμ. καὶ σ' εἰ βεβαίως εὐ φρονεῖς ηδη σκοπῶ.  
*Ηρ.* οὐ γάρ τι βακχεύσας γε μέμνημαι φρένας.

'1117-1122 diverse disposuerunt editores post Jacobsium, ut 1122 statim post 1119 sequeretur: 1118, 1119 post 1121 trai. Nauck: 1121 et 1119 invicem transposuit Wilamowitz.'

If anyone takes the trouble to write out the various transpositions and compare them in cold blood, he must, I think, come to the conclusion that Nauck's is intrinsically the best. From the point of view of workmanship, it is the only one that counts. For the lines run:

- Αμ. ὁρᾶς γάρ αὐτός ΕΙ ΦΡΟΝῶν ΗΔΗ κυρεῖς.  
*Ηρ.* παπαῖ, τόδ' ὡς ὑποπτον ἡνίξω πάλιν.  
 Αμ. καὶ σ' εἰ βεβαίως ΕΙ ΦΡΟΝεῖς ΗΔΗ σκοπῶ.  
*Ηρ.* εἴπ', εἰ τι κανὸν ὑπογράφῃ τώμῳ βίᾳ.  
 Αμ. εἰ μηκέθ' "Αἰδον βάκχος εἰ, φράσαιμεν ἄν.  
*Ηρ.* οὐ γάρ τι βακχεύσας γε μέμνημαι φρένας.

The reason for the migration of 1120-1 to the margin and their subsequent displacement is crystal-clear: other versions are pure empiricism. The problem is much more complex in the ἀναγνώσις of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, but the theme is unaltered:

- I.T. 766-84:  
 Ι.Π. καλῶς ἐλεξας τῶν τε σῶν ἐμοῦ δ' ὑπερ.  
 σήμανε δ' φ' χρή τάδ' ἐπιστολὰς φέρειν  
 πρὸς "Αργος ὁ τι τε χρή κλίνοντά σου λέγειν.  
 Ιφ. ἄγγελλ' Ὁρέστη, παιδὶ τάγαμέμνονος."  
 770 ή 'ν Αἰδίδι σφαγεῖο' ἐπιστέλλει τάδε  
 ζῶσ' Ἰφιγένεια, τοῖς ἑκεῖ δ' οὐ ζῶσ' ἔτι.  
 Ι.Π. ποῦ δ' ἔστ' ἔκεινη; κατθαυόνσ' ηκει πάλιν;  
 Ιφ. ηδ' ην ὁρᾶς σύ· μὴ λόγους ἐκπλησσέ με.  
 κόμισαι μ' ἐς "Αργος, ὡς σύναψε, πρὶν θανεῖν,  
 775 ἐκ βαρβάρου γῆς καὶ μετάστητον θεᾶς  
 σφαγίων, ἐφ' οίσι ξενοφόνους τυμᾶς ἔχω.  
 Ορ. Πυλάδην, τι λέξω; ποῦ ποτ' ὄνθ' ηρήμεθα;

<sup>1</sup> The whole passage is very ably and fairly discussed by Mr. Platnauer in his edition of the play. That I had been unlucky enough not to

see his commentary before writing my notes on the *Iphigenia*, will be obvious: otherwise their form must have been considerably modified.

- Ιφ. *ἡ σοῖς ἄραια δάμασιν γενήσομαι,*  
 "Ορέσθ," *ἴν' αὐθὶς ὄνομα δὶς κλύων μάθης.*
- 780 Πν. *ὦ θεοί.* Ιφ. *τὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνακαλεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς;*  
 Πν. *οὐδέν· πέραν δ' ἐξέβην γάρ ἀλλοσε.*  
*τάχ' οὖν ἐρωτῶν σ' εἰς ἄπιστ' ἀφίξομαι.*
- Ιφ. *λέγ' οὐνεκ' ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου θεὰ*  
*"Ἄρτεμις ἔσωσέ μ', ἦν ἔθυσ' ἐμὸς πατήρ κτέ.*

So this well-known passage meets the eye in Kirchhoff and, virtually,<sup>1</sup> in the manuscripts. That there has been some misadventure ought, I think, to be dimly suspected by the reader, before he arrives at the blank wall of 782 τάχ' οὖν ἐρωτῶν σ' εἰς ἄπιστ' ἀφίξομαι. The conjectures on that impenetrable line need not be recorded or discussed.<sup>2</sup> Whether the passage is regarded as corrigible or not seems to me purely a question of temperament. The pessimist may, as usual, be on the safer ground; but the optimist might ask himself three questions: When, by every law of human nature, should Pylades, whether on the Athenian stage or in the Tauric Chersonese, have exclaimed, 'O God'?—When should Iphigenia have repeated the name 'Orestes'?—What, in a passage like this, should be the function of a sentence introduced by τάχ' οὖν, and what form should its sequel have?—To each of those questions he would find but one answer, and, if he acted upon the answers, he would produce a scene in which, he would probably be tempted to think, Momus himself would find nothing to obelize. It would run:

- Πν. *καλῶς ἐλεξας τῶν τε σῶν ἐμοῦ θ' ὑπερ.*  
*σήμαινε δ' φ' χρή τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς φέρειν*  
*πρὸς "Ἄργος δ τι τε χρή κλύνοντά σου λέγειν.*
- 769 Ιφ. *ἄγγελλ' Ὀρέστη,* παῦδι τάγαμέμνονος,
- 780 Πν. *ὦ θεοί . . . Ιφ. τὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνακαλεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς;*
- 781 Πν. *οὐδέν· πέραν δ' ἐξέβην γάρ ἀλλοσε.*
- 779 Ιφ. *"Ὦρέστα" —ἴν' αὐθὶς ὄνομα δὶς κλύων μάθης—*
- 770 *"ἢ 'ν Αὐλίδι σφαγέοσ' ἐπιστέλλει τάδε*  
*ζῶος Ἰφιγένεια, τοῖς ἐκεῖ δ' οὐ ζῶσ' ἔτι."*
- Πν. *ποι δ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνη; κατθανοῦνος ἡκει πάλιν;*
- Ιφ. *ηδ' ἦν ὄρφες σύ· μη λόγοις ἐκπλησσε με.—*  
*"κόμισαι μ' ἐς "Ἄργος, ὦ σύναιμε, πρὶν θανεῖν,*
- 775 *ἐκ βαρβάρου γῆς καὶ μετάστησον θεᾶς*  
*σφαγίων, ἐφ' οίστι ξενοφόνους τιμᾶς ἔχω,"*
- Ορ. *(aside) Πυλάδη, τί λέξω; ποῦ ποτ' οὐθ' ηγρήμεθα;*
- Ιφ. *(continuing)*
- 782 *"ἢ σοῖς ἄραια δάμασιν γενήσομαι." —(A moment's pause).*  
*τάχ' οὖν ἐρωτῶν σ' εἰς ἄπιστ' ἀφίξεται·*  
*λέγ' οὐνεκ' ἔλαφον ἀντιδοῦσά μου θεὰ*  
*"Ἄρτεμις ἔσωσέ μ', ἦν ἔθυσ' ἐμὸς πατήρ κτέ.*

769, 780, 781, 779, 770\* || 782. (Ιφ.) ἀφίξεται Kayser and Weil: (Πν.) ἀφίξομαι.

<sup>1</sup> In 766, *τε σῶν* is a necessary and certain emendation by Haupt for *θεῶν*: in 776, P has the slip *ξενοκτόνους*, and in 782 *ἐρωτῶν* (corrected by p). L's unelided *Ὀρέστη* in 779 I mention later.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dies deficiat, si velis numerare quibus bonis male evenerit'—and here the misfortunes of the good succeed each other through twenty-one merciless lines of Wecklein, three and a half of which I copy: τάχ' οὖν ἐγώδ' ὡς εἰς ἄπιστ'

ἀφίξομαι Klotz, Ιφ. τάχ' εἴσ' σ' ἐρωτῶν εἰς ἄπιστ' ἀφίξεται Kayser, τάχ' οὖν ἐρώ, τῶνδ' εἰ τὰ πίστ' ἀφίξομαι Stahl, τάχ' οὖν ἐρώ, τοῖς εἰς ἄπιστ' ἀφίξομαι Kvičala, Ιφ. τάχ' οὖν σ' ἐροτ' ἀντιποτος ωχόμην Heimsoeth. Out of these five conjectures that of Kayser is at least rational, but one can hardly say that the percentage is maintained.

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For myself I should be satisfied. *Tάχ' οὖν* has now its proper mission in life: it introduces an objection which might occur to the person whom you have been addressing, and the reply to that objection follows instantly and—the point which Kayser, though not Weil, failed to appreciate—asyndetically; as, for instance, at *Suppl.* 184 ff. *τάχ' οὖν ἀν εἴποις*. *Πελοπίαν παρεις χθόνα | πώς ταῖς Αθήναις τόνδε προστάσσεις πόνον; | ἐγώ δίκαιος εἰμ' ἀφργεῖσθαι τάδε κτέ.*, or at Soph. *Phil.* 305 ff. *τάχ' οὖν τις ἄκων ἔσχε (πολλὰ γάρ τάδε | ἐν τῷ μακρῷ γένοιτ' ἀνθρώπων χρόνῳ). | οὗτοι μ' ὅταν μύλων, ὡς τέκνον, λόγους | ἐλέυθοις κτέ.* The transposed lines dovetail so perfectly into their new positions that it is hard to suppose that they were not created for the positions and the positions for them. The stream of error may be readily traced to its source. For the corruption of ἀφίξεται to ἀφίξομαι, the attribution of 782 to Pylades, the disappearance of three lines, *a*, *b*, *c*, after 769, and their reappearance after 778 as *c*, *a*, *b*, are not four distinct errors, but essentially one. In the last codex to exhibit the verses in the order just given, the termination of ἀφίξεται had, by the commonest of non-optical mistakes, been assimilated to that of γενήσομαι immediately above it. The codex was copied, and the transcriber, after finishing 769, looked up from his work for a moment, then resumed it, conscious that he had just written a line about Orestes: he glanced at his page, caught sight of *'Ορέστα!* in what is now 779, and started duly upon the next verse. The error was discovered, and the three missing lines were added at the foot of the page,<sup>2</sup> which ended with Iphigenia's *ἡ σοὶς ἀραίδώμασιν γενήσομαι*. The dialogue then presented the following appearance:

- *ἡ σοὶς ἀραίδώμασιν γενήσομαι.*
- *ὡς θεοί.—τί τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνακαλεῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς;*
- *οὐδέν· πέρανε δ'. ἔξεβην γάρ ἄλλοσε.*
- *'Ορέστα, ἵν' αὐτὸς ὄνομα δἰς κλύνων μάθησ,*
- τάχ' οὖν ἐρωτῶν σ' εἰς ἀπιστ' ἀφίξομαι·*
- λέγ' οὐνεκ' ἐλαφον κτέ.*

It was clear, the corrector meditated, that something had gone wrong: *'Ορέστα . . .*, where it stood had no construction and no discoverable sense, but would do well enough, if it was appended to *γενήσομαι* higher up; in that case, *τάχ' οὖν . . .* belonged to Pylades—very properly, as he was a man, and *ἐρωτῶν* is a masculine participle. It only remained to prefix *Iφ.* to *λέγ' οὐνεκ'* . . ., and, if any difficulty remained, that was an affair for the reader or the scholiasts.

Soph. *O.C.* 510 ff.      *Xο. δεινὸν μὲν τὸ πάλαι κείμενον ἥδη  
κακόν, ὡς ξεῖν', ἐπεγείρειν.*

<sup>1</sup> The form is without any significance. True, elision is at times not graphically indicated at a change of speakers: see, for instance, the manuscript readings at *I.A.* 1354, 1359, 1465, *Or.* 1235, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1611. The reason, however, is simply that, in plays where the phenomenon occurs at all, it occurs everywhere (almost always nakedly, but at times with the apparent hiatus cloaked by a later ⟨γ⟩ or ⟨δ⟩). The following examples from the *Hercules* illustrate, I think, all the types: 227, 228, 256, 478, 511, 706, 726, 984, 985, 953, 1011, 1221, 1236, 1284, 1289, 1290, 1298, 1343, 1362, 1386, 1387, 1412 (*ὅτα οὐν* is emended to *ὅτα κούν*), 1419. At *Rhes.* 13 ff., the tradition is: *Εκ. . . τίνες ἐκ νυκτῶν τὰς ἡμετέρας | κοίτας πλάθουσα; ἐνέπειν χρῆ. | Χο. φύλακες στρατᾶς. Εκ. τί φέρῃ θορύβῳ; | Χο. θάρσει. Εκ. θαρσῶ. | μάν τις λόχος ἐκ νυκτῶν; Χο. οὐκ*

*ἔστι. Εκ. τί σθ γάρ | φύλακάς προλιπῶν κινεῖς στρατῶν κτέ.* Dindorf expunged [*Xο. οὐκ ἔστι*], and is generally followed. But οὐκ ἔστι is the same thing as οὐκ ἔσθι, and it is easy to write: *μάν τις λόχος ἐκ νυκτῶν; Χο. οὐκ ἔσθι, | (Ἐκτορ.) Εκ. τί σθ γάρ | φύλακάς προλιπῶν κτέ.* The reason for the omission of the vocative is obvious.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the sole reason why the trochaic tetrameters 1203–33 are diversified at 1213 by an irrelevant iambic trimeter: *ώς (ώστ'?) εἰκότως σε πάσα θαυμάζει πόλις.* Omitted, by one accident or other, after 1202, where Markland suggested placing it, it was inserted at the bottom of the page and conscientiously transcribed there, though the trochaics were in full swing. After 1202 it is apt enough, though unnecessary, and the stichomythia (1159–201) closes, as it opened, with a distich of Thoas.

ὅμως δ' ἔραμαι πυθέσθαι

Οι. τί τοῦτο;

Χο. τᾶς δειλαῖς ἀπόρου φανείσας

ἀλγηδόνας δὲ ξυνέστας.

515 Οι. μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοίξης

τᾶς σᾶς, πέπονθ' ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ.

To remedy the metre of 516, Reisig conjectured: μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοίξης | τᾶς σᾶς ἀπέπονθ' ἀναιδῆ, and his proposal is apparently a species of vulgate—it is received, for instance, by Blaydes, Jebb, Masqueray, and Pearson, Hermann preferring to punctuate: μὴ πρὸς φιλίας ἀνοίξης | τᾶς σᾶς. ἀπέπονθ', ἀναιδῆ. In point of technique, however, the emendation is hardly even mediocre: no reason is perceptible for the extrusion of *ἀ*, and none for the intrusion of *ἔργ*; for, when Jebb observes that '*ἔργ*' was inserted in the MSS. to explain that *ἀναιδῆ* referred to his own acts', he forgets to inform his more obtuse readers how it succeeded in doing so. The only other suggestion which has made converts (Dindorf, Tournier, Nauck) is Bothē's—or Martin's—πέπον, but that epic endearment, derided by Hermann, scarcely comes into the count. I doubt whether anything has happened beyond the casual duplication of the *ε* in *ἔργ*, followed by a simple case of uncial corruption, the type being that of, say, Ps.-Plut. *de Fluv.* II, 2 ιστορεὶ ΙΑCων ὁ Βυζάντιος = ιστορεῖ ΠΑΛΕων ὁ Βυζάντιος; for I should alter ΠΕΠΟΝΘ to ΓΕΓΟΝΕ and write, reverting to Hermann's punctuation:

Οι. μὴ πρὸς ξενίας ἀνοίξης  
τᾶς σᾶς· γέγον'\* ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ.

That, on the score of sense and style, the conjecture marks any improvement upon Reisig, it would be ridiculous to maintain: that it marks any deterioration, I fail to see. For obviously, if a clear-cut object for *ἀνοίξης* is necessary, which may be questioned—for Oedipus' heart and head had been full of the 'object' for a generation—then *ἀλγηδόνα* is entirely satisfactory. If other things are, in reality, equal, the palaeographical factor turns the scale.

I give one or two more passages, where the traditional juggling with Ο, Θ, Ε, Ζ, Ι, Τ, Π, Γ, and the like may even yet be worth a trial:

Eur. *Hel.* 772 ff.     Ελ. καὶ πλείον' εἶπας ή σ' ἀπρόμην ἔγω.  
      ἐν δὲ εἰπὲ πάντα παραλιπόν, πόσον χρόνον  
πόντουν πὶ νάτοις ἀλιον ἐφθείρον πλάνον;  
      Με. ἐνιαύσιον πρὸς τοῖσιν ἐν Τροᾳ δέκα  
      ἔτεσι διηλθον ἐπτὰ περιδρομὰς ἔτῶν.

In this I have written Nauck's *καὶ πλείον* (for *κάλλιον*), as the change seems necessary in the context and the error is easily explicable by the broad-topped *Λ* (virtually indistinguishable from *Π*: see Bast, *C.P.* pp. 729 ff.), which, thanks to Cyril and Methodius—or possibly neither to Cyril nor to Methodius—survives to-day, undeservedly and unfortunately, in the alphabet of the U.S.S.R. For the faulty *ἐνιαύσιον*, Wecklein cites in his apparatus<sup>1</sup> Faehse's *ἐνιανότον* and Mekler's *ἐνιανοτών* (Heath) . . . περιδρομὰς κύκλων. Faehse's change is possible, though the reverse of cogent: Mekler (who was followed by Herwerden) cuts into the quick; for on the sequence *ἔτεσι . . . ἔτῶν* no suspicion rests. The total indifference of the dramatists to the repetition of all such words extends even to cases where the fact of the repetition must have been forced on their notice by the position of the words: exact parallels are *I.A.* 1251 f. *μαίνεται δὲ ὁ εὔχεται | θανεῖν κακῶς ζῆν κρείσσον η καλῶς θανεῖν*, *El.* 1016 f. *ἐκβεβλημένη | δόμων πατρώων δυστυχεῖς οἰκῶ δόμους*, *ib.* 1016 f. *ην μὲν ἀξίως*

<sup>1</sup> In the limbo of his appendix are: *ἐνιαύσιον*   *ἐνιαύσιον* W. G. Clark, *νανοθλούμανες* (adopted by Tyrrwhitt, *ἐνιανοίων* Heath, *ἐνιαναῖς* Boissonade,   *Nauck*) M. Schmidt.

μωσῶν ἔχη, | στυγεῖν δίκαιον· εἰ δὲ μή, τί δεῖ στυγεῖν;—in all of which the repeated word, as here, supplies the first and the last foot of a single trimeter. Murray receives Apelt's *ἐν ναοῖς ὄν*, but such precision is hardly called for in view of Helen's words, and the phrase, in spite of appearances, might not be too easy to parallel. Above all, there is the fact that even nearer to *ἔλαυσιν κτέ.* is:

ἐν Ταῦθι\* ίών, πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Τροίᾳ δέκα  
ἔτεσι, διῆλθον ἐπτά περιθρομάς ἐτῶν.

That a common word like *ἔνταῦθα* is not likely to be corrupted into an uncommon word like *ἔνταῦθος*, is merely not true: such errors are purely optical, and anything may with perfect ease be corrupted into anything else. Either *λέγει* or *ἡλος* is as common as *ἔνταῦθα*, and *αετεναος* is even uncommoner than *ἔνταῦθος*, yet *ΑΕΤΕΤΝΑΙΟΣ* is how *ΛΕΓΕΙ ΗΛΙΟΣ* appears at Amm. Marc. xvii. 14, 18; and, when Harpocration (*v. 'Απρότων*) inclined to regard that also uncommon word as a *γραφικὸν ἀμάρτημα*, and conjectured *ΑΗΙCTΩΝ*, his emendation may have been faulty, but his methods were excellent.<sup>1</sup>

*Hel.* 1285 ff.

σὺ δ', ὡς τάλανα, μὴ πὶ τοῖς ἀνηρνύτοις  
τρύχουσα σαντήν\*\*. Μενέλεως δ' ἔχει πότμον  
κούκ ἀν δύναιτο ζῆν ὁ κατθανῶν πόσις.

'*Πόσις*', says Pearson, 'is undoubtedly a fault of style with *Μενέλεως* preceding, but there is nothing to show that it is not due to Euripides.' That is true enough: still every man, Greek or barbarian, nurses at heart the ambition of Figaro: 'Je voudrais finir par quelque chose de beau, de brillant, de scintillant, qui eût l'air d'une pensée'; and there has been a fairly general desire to offer the prince a better word with which to terminate his long colloquy with Helen. Reiske contributed *πάλων* (repeated by Cobet, Heimsoeth, and Wilamowitz), Dobree *ποτε*, L. Dindorf *ἄπαξ*, Wecklein *νεκρός*, F. W. Schmidt *νέκυς*. Against all these, *ΠΟCΙC* maintains its ground stubbornly, but I am not certain that it does so against *ΓΟΟΙC*:

Μενέλεως δ' ἔχει πότμον,  
κούκ ἀν δύναιτο ζῆν ὁ κατθανῶν γόσις.\*

It is, no doubt, idle to parallel something which every man has just said or is about to say, but one may mention, from the dramatists, Soph. *El.* 139, *fr.* 501 D. with Philemon's admirable adaptation (*fr.* 73 K.), Eur. *Alc.* 995, *Tro.* 699, *fr.* 334 D.

The same time-honoured confusion of Θ and C appears to me to exist at

*El.* 576 ff.

Πρ. ἔπειτα μέλλει προσπίνειν τοῖς φιλάτοις;

Ηλ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ', ὡς γεραέ συμβόλουσι γάρ  
τοῖς σοῖς πέπεισμαι θυμόν. ὡς χρόνῳ φανεῖς,  
ἔχω σ' ἀέλπτως. Ορ. καξ ἐμοῦ γ' ἔχη χρόνῳ.

One has a curious sensation of being suddenly alone in a wide world, when, upon a reference to Wecklein's appendix to discover how many have felt the same difficulty and who has forestalled the same remedy, it appears that, until the dawn of the twentieth century, no one had experienced any difficulty whatsoever. And so here the emenders are stonily silent: yet it seems to me that tragedy might be ransacked to little effect for a parallel to *πέπεισμαι θυμόν*. For *θυμός* is not that part of a man's spiritual equipment which yields assent to the cumulative effect of evidence,

<sup>1</sup> An irrelevant case of the confusion of I and Τ may perhaps be corrected here: Plut. *de tuend. sanit.* 130 Α ὥσπερ δὲ φίσας μηδὲν γράφειν παραθαλαρρίους περὶ δδόντων. Any word often on the lips of seafaring men will serve for *δδόντων*, but

the right one is hardly either *οὐλάδων* (Babbitt) or *τρισδόντων* (Bernardakis) or *όντων* (Sieveking). The right alteration, I think, is clearly: *δθοντων*.\*

even in a model anagnorisis, containing the brand-new feature of a scar above the eyebrow, received in childhood. With the faculty which does yield that assent it is directly contrasted in the *Telephus* (*fr. 717 ὥρα σε θυμοῦ κρείσσονα γνάμην ἔχειν*) and conceivably in the anonymous verse quoted by Galen from Chrysippus: ὁ θυμὸς αὐτὸν τῶν φρενῶν ἔξηρ' ἄνω (see Valckenaer on *Hipp.* 322). In at least thirty other places, the word has its ordinary non-intellectual or anti-intellectual connotations; nor—since the locution ἐν θυμῷ βαλεῖν hardly enters into the question—does the case stand otherwise in Sophocles or Aeschylus. Here, then, if *θυμόν* is to be regarded as beyond doubt, it should at least not be the graphical duplicate of a word incomparably superior to itself in every respect: yet such a duplicate it is. For Electra, I should imagine, first pacifies the old man: 'Αλλ' οὐκέτ', ὁ γεραέ. Then she turns to Orestes, and utters the vocative for the sake of which the scene was written:

συμβόλοισι γάρ  
τοῖς σοὶς πέπεισμαι, σύγγον'\*. ὁ χρόνῳ φανεῖς,  
ἔχω σ' ἀδηπτῶς κτέ.

So, on a later day, in the Crimea, Orestes himself, at last 'persuaded as to his mind', takes his other sister's note from Pylades, and says (*I.T.* 793 ff.):

δέχομαι παρεὶς δὲ γραμμάτων διαπτυχάς,  
τὴν ἡδονὴν πρῶτ' οὐ λόγουσι δέξομαι.—  
ω φιλάττη μοι σύγγον', ἐκπεπληρωμένος  
ὅμως σ' ἀπίστῳ περιβαλλὼν βραχίον  
εἰς τέρψιν εἴμι, πυθόμενος θαυμάστ' ἐμοὶ.<sup>1</sup>

The interchange of *γγ* (Μ) and *μ* (Μ), without being particularly common, crops up intermittently, as, for instance, at Liban. *Corinth. or.* 17 (t. vi. 19, 16 Förster), where the margin of the Vindobonensis offers *περὶ ἀμύλλας* as a variant upon *περιαγγεῖλας*. At Xen. *Vectig.* v. 2, the tradition is desperate: εἰ δέ τινες οὕτω γιγνώσκουσι, ὡς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις εἰρήνην ἀγονσα διατελῇ, ἀδωνατωτέρα τε καὶ ἀδοξοτέρα καὶ ἡττον ὀνομαστή ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔσται, καὶ οὐτοὶ γε ὡς ἐμῇ δόξῃ παραγγέλλων σκοπούσιν. As no conjecture known to me has the remotest probability, I venture: καὶ οὐτοὶ γε, ὡς ἐμοὶ, δόξαν παρὰ μέλος *σκοπούσιν*—the last four words of which may, in their turn, have begun life as: παρὰ μέλος δοξοκοποῦσι.

To return for a moment to the circular letters, at *I.A.* 739 Clytemnestra's patience snaps, and to Agamemnon's *πιθοῦ*, she replies 'somewhat peevishly', as Paley thought:

Κλ. μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν, Ἀργείαν θέαν·  
ἔλθων δὲ τᾶξιν πρᾶσσε, τῶν δόμοις δ' ἔγω,  
ἀ χρῆ παρεῖναι νυμφίουσι παρθένοις.

Since Monk, the last verse is almost unanimously cancelled: for *νυμφίουσι παρθένοις* passes all belief, and it is a rather unexacting taste which can be completely satisfied with *νυμφίους η παρθένοις*. To me the line looks as genuine as any other in Euripides. Clytemnestra's intentions are clear—she is going to attend to the marriage-bed (cf. *Med.* 1026 f., *simm.*)—and, if she fails to express her intentions clearly, the fault lies with the scribe who saw before him a word, with a couple of dim vowels, which looked like Π\*ΡΘ\*ΝΩ. As it could be nothing but *παρθένω*, he corrected the number and pursued his way, instead of glancing again at the presumed Θ and writing:

τῶν δόμοις δ' ἔγω  
ἀ δεῖ παρεῖναι νυμφίουσι πορθενῶ.\*

<sup>1</sup> A similar appeal to the gallery is Ion's: χαῖρε μοι, πάτερ (*Ion* 561), and his μῆτερ (1437).

So, too, in the notorious passage:

*Bacch.* 1058 ff. *Πενθεύς δ' ὁ τλήμων, θῆλυν οὐχ ὄρῶν ὄχλον,*  
*ἔλεξε τοιάδ'. Ὡς ξέν', οὐ μὲν ἔσταμεν,*  
*οὐκ ἔξικνοῦμαι μανιάδων ὅσσι νόθων κτέ.,*

if anything is required in the last line beyond Canter's *ὅσσοις*, it can surely be nothing beyond the simple and obvious remedy, for a mention of which I have sought in vain:

*οὐκ ἔξικνοῦμαι μανιάδων ὅσσοις νόθων κτέ.*

It is hardly worth transcribing Soph. *Ai.* 59 *φοιτῶντ' ἄνδρα μανίδων νόσοις*, Eur. *Or.* 326 *ἐκλαθέσθαι λύσσας | μανίδος*, ib. 270 *μανίδων λυσσήμασσιν*; and so, most probably, ib. 227 *ὅταν ἀνὴ νόσος | μανίδας* (*S.*, Porson: *μανίδας* codd.,<sup>1</sup> and at *H.F.* 878 *μανίδων λύσσας* (Dobree, Hermann: *μανίδων λύσσας* codd.), and, certainly not improbably, at Herod. vi. 75 *ὑπέλαβε μανίδας* (Cobet, *V.L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 606: *μανίδης* codd.) *νοῦσος*.—Julian 414B (*Eph.* 26 Bidez-Cumont) may be corrected in passing: *καὶ τοῦτο αὐτό, ἵσθι,*  
<sup>(\*): αὐτοῖς εἰ codd., αὐτοῖς [εἴ] Ald., vulg., αὐτός Naber, *τοῖς* ἀνθρώποις P. Thomas, αὐτόθι or αὐτός σοι Bidez-Cumont) *καταφανὲς δὲν ἐνδέχετο τρόπον ἐποίησα.*</sup>

Nor am I able to see anything amiss with Soph. *O.C.* 316 ff. beyond the ordinary trouble with *Ε* and *Ο*. The verses are:

δρ' ἔστιν; δρ' οὐκ ἔστιν; ή γνώμη πλανῆ;  
*καὶ φῆμι κάπτόφημι κούκ ἔχω τί φῶ.*  
*τάλαινα·*  
*οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη. φαιδρά γοῦν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων*  
*320 σαίνει με προσστέίχουσα· σημαίνει δ' ὅτι*  
*μόνης τόδ' ἔστι δῆλον 'Ισμήνης κάρα.*

As the lines stand, *δῆλον* is equally refractory to normal interpretation and to normal emendation: for the only conjecture which seems to justify its existence at all is Jacob's *ἔστι ἀδελφὸν κτέ.*, repeated independently by Herwerden and Blaydes. To abandon the tradition entirely and to amend Suidas' version: *μόνης τόδ' ἔστι φίλοιν 'Ισμήνης κάρα* (a perfectly good trimeter to the ear of Suidas) into *μόνης τόδ' ἔστι φίλοιν 'Ισμήνης κάρα* (Hermann) or *μόνης φίλοιν τόδ' ἔστιν 'Ισμήνης κάρα* (Pearson in his text) is merely to resign the game before it is lost. The obvious expedient, to insulate *δῆλον* by making it parenthetical—on the lines of *Ai.* 906 *αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ· δῆλον* or of *fr.* 521 D. *ἀλγενά, Πρόκνη, δῆλον*—is rendered inept by *σημαίνει δ' ὅτι*, but clearly by nothing else. Antigone, it seems to me, sees a cheerful figure in a sun-hat, riding her Aetnaean pony down the road and making some sort of signal:

*φαιδρά γοῦν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων*  
*σαίνει με προσστέίχουσα· σημαίνει δέ τι\*.*

Then a moment's pause, and she enunciates the joyful certainty:

*μόνης τόδ' ἔστι, δῆλον, 'Ισμήνης κάρα.*

<sup>1</sup> These passages from the *Orestes* remind me of another which seems to admit a fairly plausible correction (401 ff.):

*Me.* ηρξω δὲ λύσσης πότε; τις ἡμέρα τότ' ην;  
*Op.* ἐν δὲ τάλαιναν μητέρ' ἔξιγκουν τάφω.  
*Me.* πότερος κατ' οίκους η προσεδρέων πυρῆ;  
*Op.* νυκτὸς φυλάσσων ὅστέων ἀνάρεοιν.  
*Me.* παρὴν τις ἄλλος οὐσὸν ἀρθενεν δέμας;  
*Op.* Πυλάδης (γ'), δ συνδρῶν αἷμα καὶ μητρὸς φόνον.

*Me.* ἐκ φασμάτων δὲ τάδε νοσεῖς ποίων ὑπο;

*Op.* ἔδοξ' ἵδεν τρεῖς νυκτὶ προσφερεῖς κόρας.  
 In 407, the punctuation: *ἐκ φασμάτων δὲ τάδε νοσεῖς; ποίων ὑπο;* merely replaces the unintelligible by the silly; nor is the least doubt possible that the reading of Laurentianus xxxi. 10, *φαντασμάτων δὲ κτέ.* (omitting *ἐκ*) is a copyist's conjecture. As a conjecture it is certainly preferable to Reiske's *τινῶν* or *τάλαιναν* for *ὑπο*, but inferior, in my judgement, to *ἐκ φασμάτων δὲ τάδε ἐνόσεις ποίων ὑπαρ\**;

Eur. *Hel.* 1226 ff. Θε. ὁρθῶς μὲν ἦδε συμφορὰ δακρύεται;

Ελ. ἐν εὐμαρεῖ γοῦν σὴν κασιγνήτην λαθεῖν.

Θε. οὐδῆτα. πῶς οὖν; τόνδ' ἔτ' οἰκήσεις τάφον;

Ελ. τί κερτομεῖς με, τὸν θανόντα δ' οὐκ ἔῆς;

1230 Θε. πιστὴ γάρ ἔσαι σῷ πόσει φεύγουσά με.

Ελ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ'. ἥδη δ' ἄρχε τῶν ἐμῶν γάμων.

In 1230, Elmsley, who was devoid of reverence for such things, swept away a hallowed relic of the Indogermanic conjugation by writing: *πιστὴ γάρ εἰ σὺ κτέ.*, and there the matter usually drops; though Paley desired: *πιστὴ γάρ οὗσα . . . φεύγεις ἔμε.* On 1228, Herwerden observed: 'Male vero cum hoc vs. cohaeret sequens, ubi inutiliter pro δ' οὐκ ἔῆς; conieci δ' οὖν ἔω; vel οὐ σέβω; quare nunc duorum versuum statuo lacunam. Cf. Holzner.' Pearson found the criticism 'too much on the surface', and resorted to a little psycho-analysis of Helen. The fact, however, remains that to the spectator or reader, who has no time to delve into the depths of Helen's nature, or doubts if there is much to find there, not the vestige of a connexion exists between the lines. And not only that, but, by any available test of diction or of sense, 1229 was never meant to be spoken by Helen at all. In the first place, Theoclymenus would have asked nothing better than *ἔαν τὸν θανόντα*, the person who insisted on not doing so was Helen: for the sense of the words is unmistakable, and, if it were not, could be collected with certainty from 1289 f. below: *σὸν ἔργον, ὃ νεάνι τὸν παρόντα μὲν | στέργεις πόσων χρή, τὸν δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντ' ἔαν*, or with redoubled certainty from *fr. 505 D. (Stob. cxxiv. 16)*: *τί τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔῆς τεθνηκέναι | καὶ τάκχυθέντα συλλέγεις ἀλγήματα;* In the second place, *κερτόμοις* is as foreign to the breast of Theoclymenus as it is native to that of Helen. In such connexions, *κερτομέν* is simply 'to befool': a sense which Liddell and Scott might perhaps have honoured by a mention. See, for instance, *I.A.* 847 ff. *Κλ.* ἀλλ' ή πέπονθα δεινά; *μηροτεύων γάμους | οὐκ ὄντας, ὡς εἰέσαντι αἰδούμαι τάδε.* | *Αχ.* *ἴσως ἐκερτόμησε καμὲ καὶ σέ τις. | ἀλλ' ἀμελίᾳ δὸς αὐτὰ καὶ φαινώς φέρε,* *ΑΙC.* 1124 f. *γυναῖκα λενσσω τὴν ἐμὴν ἐτητύμως, | ή κέρτομός με θεοῦ τις ἐκπλήσσει χαρά;* *Hel.* 616 ff. (curiously misunderstood by Pearson) *ὦ χαῖρε, Λῆδας θύγατερ, ἐνθάδ' ήσθ' ἄρα; | ἐγώ δέ σ' ἀστρων ὡς βεβηκυῖαν μυχούς | ἥγγελλον, εἰδὼς οὐδὲν ὡς ὑπόπτερον | δέμας φοροῖς. οὐκ ἔω σε κερτομέν | ήμᾶς τόδ' αὐθις.* Correct or incorrect, the inference certainly lies near, that, at some period of the transmission of the text, 1229 and 1230 exchanged places, and that the second line was then roughly accommodated to its altered conditions of existence. The original would then run:

1228 Θε. οὐδῆτα. πῶς οὖν; τόνδ' ἔτ' οἰκήσεις τάφον;

1230 Ελ. πιστὴ γάρ εἴμι τῷ πόσει φεύγουσά σε.\*

1229 Θε. τί κερτομεῖς με, τὸν θανόντα δ' οὐκ ἔῆς;

1231 Ελ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ'. ἥδη δ' ἄρχε τῶν ἐμῶν γάμων.

All is now in order, and Helen's *ἀλλ' οὐκέτ'* falls as naturally as that of the Chorus at *Cycl. 685 ff.*

*Ku.* οὐ τῇδ'; ἐπεὶ τῇδ' εἴπας. *Xo.* οὐ, ταῦτη λέγω.

*Ku.* τῇ γάρ; *Xo.* περιάγον· κείσε, πρὸς τάριστερά.

*Ku.* οἴμοι γελῶμαι· κερτομεῖτέ μ' ἐν κακοῖς.

*Xo.* ἀλλ' οὐκέτ', ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν Οὔτις ἐστὶ σου.

The casual inversion of a couple of senarii may occur anywhere—there is a flagrant instance only some sixty lines later (1292 f.)—and must have been peculiarly easy in a long stichomythic passage, with the change of speakers indicated only by *παράγραφοι*. That the scribe, on whom devolved the duty of altering the persons in 1230, preferred *ἔσαι* to Elmsley's *εἰ σύ*, is due primarily to the fact that he was not Elmsley, and secondarily to the fact that he followed, as I hope to show later, the custom of his calling.

A passage which caught my attention, while I was finding the reference in the *Cyclops*, may as well have a word here:

Σει. φέρ' ἔγκαναξον, ὡς ἀναμνησθῶ πάν.

Οδ. ίδον. Σει. παπαίξ, ὡς καλήν ὀσμὴν ἔχει.

154 Οδ. εἶδες γάρ αὐτήν; Σει. οὐ μὰ Δι', ἀλλ' ὀσφραίνομαι.

'The joke', Paley is constrained to admit, 'if such be meant, in this passage, is not very brilliant, "Did you *see* the smell, that you should call it *καλή*?"— "No, I only smell it." ' He finds an extenuating circumstance in the fact that 'Euripides was not an Aristophanes by nature', and considers that 'much of the difficulty would be removed by reading *εἶδες γάρ αὐτόν*, scil. *τὸν οἶνον*'. In that case, as in the case also of Reiske's *μορφήν* for *δομήν*, Odysseus asks a plain question, and receives a plain, though probably mendacious, answer: but no ripple of laughter can have run through the audience. No 'joke', in fact, is possible to Euripides or to Aristophanes, to Reiske or to Paley or to mortal man, so long as a direct object to *εἶδες* is expressed. For, if the reply of Silenus is to be facetious, he must be at liberty to assume that Odysseus meant *εἶδες τὴν δομήν*; whereas Odysseus obviously meant something else. I fail to see how the lines can have gone otherwise than:

Οδ. ίδον. Σει. παπαίξ, ὡς καλήν ὀσμὴν ἔχει.

Οδ. εἶδες γάρ αὐτός\*; Σει. οὐ μὰ Δι', ἀλλ' ὀσφραίνομαι.

'You see for youself', says the tempter (sc. 'what the stuff is like'); and this brachylogy gives the venerable reprobate his opening. The corruption is natural enough to pass without comment, but I emend a still less edifying passage, in which an oblique case of *aὐτός* is at fault. In the too vivacious account of Theodora's youth, which constituted the favourite reading of Gibbon's 'learned prelate, now deceased', Procopius says (*Anecd.* ix. 18): ἡ δὲ κακὰ τριῶν τρυπημάτων ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ φύσει, δυσφορούμην ὅτι δὴ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τίτθους αὐτῇ εὐρύτερον ἡ νῦν εἰσὶ τρυπῶ, ὅπως κτέ. It is curious that neither Reiske nor Alemannus nor Haury should have noticed that the tense of *τρυπῶ* converts the passage into pure—or impure—nonsense, unless *αὐτῇ* is changed to *αὐτῇ\** (sc. ἡ φύσις).<sup>1</sup>

So, again, at Soph. *Trach.* 627 f., Deianira says to Lichas:

ἀλλ' οὐσθα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ξένης ὄρῶν

προσδέγματ' αὐτήν θ' ὡς ἐδεξάμην φίλως.

Thus *L*, with a clearly insufferable tautology: that *A* omits *θ'* is characteristic of that grossly overrated manuscript. For *ωC* write *ωCC*, and correct the gender of *αὐτήν*: *αὐτόν θ' ὡς* *σ'* *ἐδεξάμην φίλως*. Then the line is true, and Lichas' answer comes from the heart: *Λι. ωστ' ἐκπλαγῆναι τούμον ἡδογῆ κέαρ.*

(To be concluded.)

J. JACKSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Data occasione*, two or three other places of the passage may be corrected (I quote by the page and line of Haury): 56, 19 *ἐπάετης*] Leg. *ἐκείτο*, *θῆτες τε κτέ.*—61, 12 ff. *οὐτῶ μὲν οὖν τετέλθαι τε τῆδε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τεθράψθαι ξυνέβη καὶ ἐς δημοσίους πολλάς διαβοήτω γεγενήθαι καὶ ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους]. For this absurdity, write, probably: *ἐς δημοσίους πολλοὺς κτέ.* So, for instance, at 165, 17, *δημοσίου* and *δημών* are variants (equally admissible); at Plut. *Phoc.* 2, Coraēs' *δημώις* is necessary for *δημοσίου*; at Dinarch. i. 37 *N*'s *δημών* (adopted by Maetzner and Blass) seems to be right as against the vulgate *δημοσίου* (defended by Thalheim).—At 59, 16 *τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν* is perfectly sound: cf. Mnesim. ap. Ath. 421C.*

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## MACTE, \*MAGO?

THE criticism made by Rose and Skutsch (*C.Q.* xxxii. 220 ff.) of my suggestion (*ibid.* 57 ff.) that *macte* and *mactare* are derived from \**macio* 'I sprinkle' calls for a re-examination of the whole problem. I make this all the more gladly because certain of the criticisms made have prompted some modification in my account of the morphology. An investigation, however, of ritual vocabulary in numerous languages has produced evidence which tends to support the correctness of the theory put forward in the original article.

It will be recalled that according to my theory just as the simple verb *apio* forms the basis of the series *aptus*, *aptare*, *ap-mentum*, so it is probable that the precisely parallel series *mactus*, *mactare*, *mag-mentum* is based on a simple verb \**macio*. Rose and Skutsch find this derivation 'linguistically (morphologically?) irreproachable'. This replacement of simple verbs by frequentatives in Latin is, in fact, a well-attested phenomenon. I add to the exx. already quoted *horior* (*Ennius*) for later *hortor*, *opio* (only in the verbal noun *optio*, see *Meillet-Ernout* 673) for later *opto*. (On the whole subject see Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, ii. 297.) \**Macio*, therefore, is morphologically well founded. \**Mago*, on the other hand, is completely isolated, for a primary verb from this root exists in no Indo-European language. To circumvent this difficulty my critics in a footnote (p. 220) make the astounding suggestion that *mactus* may be derived straight from *magnus*, and they quote in support 'such phenomena as the English *left-handed*, Lat. *barbatus*'. The English example is quite beside the point since in Anglo-Saxon the denominative suffix is *-ede* and is distinct from the past participle, which ends in *-ed*, *-ad*, or *-od*. It is, of course, possible that the *barbatus* type may precede the corresponding denominative verb and may well be Indo-European. But nowhere, as far as I know, has it been suggested that a participle in *-tos* may be coined straight from an adjectival stem or root. It is either \**mago* or nothing, and this asterisked form is merely an *ad hoc* coinage which has been invented to provide a morphological basis for a preconceived connexion with *mag-nus*.

Rose and Skutsch next attack my connexion of \**macio* with *macula* by pointing out that such derived nouns commonly denote the instrument with which the action of the verb is performed. I accept the criticism. This, however, does not destroy the connexion with *macula*, and I now venture to put forward a morphological explanation which further consideration has convinced me is more probable though less simple. *Macula*, as its meaning suggests, is a diminutive, the basic noun being \**max* (cf. *fax*, *facula*). For the connexion \**max*, \**macio*, Rose and Skutsch have themselves provided me with a valuable morphological parallel when they quote *lacto* as a frequentative to *lacio*, for *lacio* is related to a basic noun *lax* (see *Meillet-Ernout*, 505, and the authorities quoted there). Another example of the same kind is *opio* (*C. Gh.* ii. 319, 5) from *ops* (*Meillet-Ernout*, 673). There is, therefore, no difficulty in connecting *macula* with *mactare*: in the first word the diminutive has replaced the basic noun and in the second the frequentative has replaced the simple verb—both well-known phenomena in Latin. This, however, is merely an hypothesis, and it is in the field of semantics that \**macio* finds its most striking confirmation.

As evidence for the semantic progression of a term denoting a detail of ritual ('sprinkling') to the general meaning 'to sacrifice' I had quoted the Latin *immolare* and the Sanskrit *nirvapati*. The Semitic languages provide a further parallel which is even more striking in its semantic development. We hear that 'in the early Arabic use the altar was not a hearth and there were no burnt offerings . . . the sacrifice consisted in pouring out the blood. . . . In certain sacrifices the blood is sprinkled upon

the altar. Again it is poured out at the foot of the altar' (J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, 66). On this aspect of Semitic religion W. Robertson Smith has an instructive passage which is relevant to our discussion of *macte*. He writes (*Religion of the Semites*, 229): 'The libation has great prominence among the Arabs. . . . Its typical form is the libation of blood, the subtle vehicle of the life of the sacrifice; but milk, which was used in ritual both by the Arabs and by the Phoenicians is also, no doubt, a very ancient Semitic libation. In ordinary Arabian sacrifices the blood which was poured over the sacred stone was all that fell to the god's part . . . and the early prevalence of this kind of oblation appears from the fact that the word ־תּוֹ "to pour", which in Hebrew means to pour out a drink offering, is in Arabic the general term for an act of worship' (italics mine). It is this Semitic root *nsk* which provides a suggestive parallel to the postulated development of \**macio*. Its semantic history is even more remarkable than appears from the passage just quoted; for in Arabic words derived from this root *nsk* 'pour a libation' bear the following meanings: (1) 'sacrifice'; (2) 'be religious', 'pious'; (3) 'become a hermit, anchorite, ascetic'; (4) while the passive participle can even mean 'hairless'! This semantic progression from 'pour' to 'sacrifice' is also paralleled by that of a Greek ritual word, *πελανός*, which I now propose to discuss.

The most recent attempt at an etymology for *πελανός* is by Specht (*K.Z.* lxi. 284 ff.). In discussing the use of this word in Eur. *Orest.* 220 Specht remarks that the 'usual' meaning of the word 'sacrificial cake' (1) is inadequate in this passage. He continues: 'We get nearest to the sense when we transcribe the word into Vedic Old Indic. We get *parinas* "abundance, mass", which corresponds exactly to *πελανός* except for the s-stem. *ἀφρώδης πελανός* is, therefore, the foam-like mass on the mouth of Orestes as he is tortured by the Furies.' Specht now seeks to find his meaning 'mass' at all costs in the Greek contexts of the word, but has to admit defeat with Eur. *Alc.* 850 ff., and Aesch. *Choe.* 92. His *aporia* is not surprising since it is a grave methodological error first to use the sound laws to find a phonetic equivalent in another language and then to attempt to foist the meaning of this equivalent on the contexts under discussion. Specht has, in fact, been at fault from the outset in regarding 'sacrificial cake' as the usual meaning of *πελανός*. It is true that Boisacq gives 'gâteau de sacrifice' as the meaning, but a more penetrating analysis of the relevant contexts reveals that *πελανός* is used of oil, honey, blood, etc.—i.e. the typical sacrificial fluids, while the meaning 'sacrificial cake', which Specht regards as 'usual', is first attested in Pausanias. The basic meaning is, therefore, clear—'a more or less fluid mass, a sort of pap or paste' (*R.E.* xix. 1. 246 f.). Ziehen, the author of the *R.E.* article *Pelanos*, describes the following stages of the development: (1) the whole grains of corn were thrown into the altar fire or strewn on the ground; (2) the grains were mixed with oil, honey, and milk; (3) the grains were crushed and used dry or mixed with a liquid; (4) the grains were not merely crushed but ground and mixed with a liquid. In the last stage the resulting paste was baked; (5) finally, when a fee is paid to the officiating priest instead of an offering in kind, *πελανός* comes to denote this coin. It is evident, then, that an etymological house built on the basic meaning 'sacrificial cake' belongs to the land of topsy-turveydom.

In my own attempt at an etymology I shall start with the established fact that *πελανός* is used of *sacrificial liquids*. The next step is to examine the morphological structure of the word. The existence of other ritual words such as *ἐπανός*, *πόπανον*, etc., shows that a suffix *-avos*, *-avov*, is used to form derivatives from verbal roots (Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr.* 489 f.). This enables us to analyse the word as *πελ-avos*, and in view of the meaning established it is possible to accept Persson's suggestion (Boisacq, 760) that the basic verbal root is cognate with Balto-Slavonic words such as Lith. *pili* 'pour'. A semantic development from 'pour' to 'sacrifice' would be an exact

parallel to the development of the Semitic *nsk*, and as such it would support my theory of the semantic history of *\*macio*. But in etymology, *ceteris paribus*, a connexion in the same language should be preferred to one in more distant languages, and it must be admitted that no root *πελ* meaning 'pour' is attested in Greek. There is, however, a possible connexion which provides us with a still more exact parallel for the postulated development 'sprinkle' > 'sacrifice'.

In Greek ritual vocabulary we find a number of words meaning 'to sprinkle'; among these are *παλύνω* and *παλάσσω* which may be regarded as containing the zero grade of a root *πελ*, so that *πελανός* may well be 'what is sprinkled'. Do we know anything further of this root *πελ*? There is a group of words closely resembling *παλύνω* and *παλάσσω*: *πάλλω*, *παλμός*, *παλματίας*, *παπαλόεις*, *παλάσσομαι*, etc., all of which have the basic meaning 'shake'. In a recent article (*Glotta*, xxvii. 134 ff.) I have endeavoured to prove that these words are derived from an IE. *\*q\*el* 'to shake' and that they are cognate with certain Indic words meaning 'to shake', among which are certain words signifying 'to sift' (a semantic development which throws light on *παπάλη* 'finely sifted flour'). Hitherto scholars have not asserted the identity of the two roots *παλ* 'shake' and *παλ* 'sprinkle'. Boisacq, for instance, separates *παλάσσω* 'sprinkle' and *παλάσσομαι* 'shake up lots'. Yet the semantic gap is not a wide one and it should not be difficult to bridge it and thus establish the identity of the two roots. It will not be irrelevant to our present problem to undertake the task, as we shall see if we examine the Greek derivatives of another verb 'to sprinkle'—*πάσσω*.

At the outset it should be noted that to the offerings of crushed grain mixed with a liquid (i.e. *πελανός*) Hesychius gives the name *ἄμπασμα*. A similar semantic development is seen in a number of other derivatives from *πάσσω*: *τὰ παστά*, for instance, is attested in a number of sources (see L. and S.<sup>9</sup>) with the meaning 'kind of barley-porridge', while it is to *παστή* (= *ζωμὸς ἀλφίτων*) that our English *paste* is ultimately traceable. The semantic connexion with *πελανός* is so close that the two word-groups interact; for *παστάλη* 'fine flour' is explicable only as a transformation of *πατάλη* under the influence of the *πάσσω* group. Bearing in mind, now, the two meanings of *παλάσσω* 'sprinkle' and 'shake' let us turn to the etymology of *πάσσω*. We learn that it is formally identical with *quatio*! Boisacq, indeed, writes: 'l'identité avec *quatio* . . . est formellement possible et le sens seul pourrait y contredire.' Meillet-Ernout, too, remark: 'on rapproche souvent gr. *πάσσω*. Mais le sens est tout différent.' Here again the semantic gap between 'shaking' and 'sprinkling'. The two groups provide mutual support. I submit, therefore, that this parallelism evinced between *παλάσσω* 'sprinkle' and 'shake' on the one hand and *πάσσω* and *quatio* on the other bridges the semantic gap and puts both these etymologies beyond reasonable doubt.

Nor does this exhaust the semantic parallels to *\*macio* which Greek ritual vocabulary provides. Even the word *χερνίπτεοθαι*, which originally denoted merely the ritual washing of the hands, advanced to the meaning 'sprinkle' (Eitrem, 79; Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 58, 622, etc.), then to 'begin the ritual of sacrifice' and finally to 'sacrifice' (Eitrem ibid., quotes Lycophr. 184 and Suid. *χερνιφθέντα τυθέντα*). This concludes our general examination of the semantic history of ritual words. It has disclosed many parallels to the development postulated for *\*macio*: *immolare*, Skt. *nirvapati*, Semitic *nsk*, Gk. *πελανός*, etc., *πάσσω*, etc., and *χερνίπτεοθαι*. Yet *\*macio*, though morphologically and semantically well founded, remains a theory; and the only test of a theory is its applicability to the observed facts. With this in mind I had attempted an analysis of the contexts in which *macte* and *maciare* are actually attested. It now remains for us to consider the objections which my critics have raised against some of the interpretations offered in the previous article.

Rose and Skutsch agree on the prior importance of the usage of *macte* in the

prayers preserved in Cato *de ag. cult.* 132. 1, and 134. 3, where, as elsewhere, the expression most frequently attested is *macte vino inferio*. Here there can be no doubt of the appropriateness of the rendering 'sprinkled' for *macte*. Criticism is directed, however, against my interpretation of *inferio*. I am prepared to accept the derivation from *inferio*. But whether *inferio vino* means 'offered wine' or 'infernal wine' is surely irrelevant to the interpretation of *macte vino*. In fact, so far from 'weakening the argument', it has removed a doubt which I myself had expressed (p. 59, n. 1) about the applicability of *vinum inferium* to gods such as Janus and Jupiter. I am glad to note that my critics allow that 'the fact that Terminus and Janus and other deities visible in material form . . . were on occasion sprinkled with blood or other liquid is, of course, perfectly consistent either with Mr. Palmer's theory that the word *mactus* itself means "besprinkled" or with the common opinion that it means "increased in power".' I would only rejoin that the latter is by no means 'the common opinion' among philologists, and I venture to refer my critics to the standard handbooks (Meillet-Ernout, 547; Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wb. d. indog. Spr.* ii. 258). On another point, too, I am glad to accept the interpretation of the *Religionsforscher*. Varro's pig (*Men.* 2, Bue.) was certainly *mola mactatus*. But this again is a side-issue, and their own interpretation 'offered up with (a sprinkling of) *mola salsa*' reveals that my joint critics are unwittingly on my side.

It now remains to discuss three other usages of *macte*, *macto*, two of which are brushed aside by Rose and Skutsch and the other ignored. In discussing the important passage in Cicero, *de Divin.* 1. 17 ff.,

Tu quoque cum tumulos Albano in monte nivalis  
lustrasti et laeto mactasti lacte Latinas,

I quoted Tibullus i. 1. 36 as a parallel for the interpretation of *mactasti lacte* as 'sprinkled with milk'. My joint critics, however, dismiss this evidence as a piece of rhetoric. They say in fact 'it would be more surprising if we found normal, technical ritual language'. Yet Pease, to whose edition R. and S. themselves refer the reader, admits in his note the possibility that the phrase *mactasti lacte* may be a ritual archaism. Moreover, they cannot deny that 'the particular rite mentioned here was one of libation, as in the parallels cited by Mr. Palmer; but it is a long way from that to supposing that "sprinkle" is what the verb means here, and equally far to the conjecture of Mr. Palmer that we have an "archaic phrase from ritual vocabulary".' My learned critics and I disagree apparently on an estimate of distance. For the second estimate I refer (with R. and S.) to Pease's edition; as to the first, I leave it to my fellow scholars to judge how far one has to travel in order to interpret *mactasti lacte* as 'sprinkled (purified) with milk'. But the last word has not yet been said on this passage.

Who or what are the *Latinae* which form the object of *mactasti*. Pease and others say *Latinae (feriae)*. But a correspondent, Mr. W. H. Kirk of New Brunswick, has kindly called my attention to Santer's interpretation in *R.E.* vi. 2215: 'Die Opfer wurden von den latinischen Frauen auf den Berg geführt (*Cic. ad Att.* I, 3, 1).' This letter of Cicero deserves our examination: 'Aviam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse et simul quod verita sit ne Latinae in officio non manerent et in montem Albanum hostias non adducerent.' L. A. Constans translates 'Ta grand'mère, sache-le, est morte du regret de ton absence, et aussi de la peur de voir les fériées latines ne plus rester fidèles à la tradition et ne pas amener sur le mont Albain les victimes rituelles.' Tyrrell favours the interpretation that 'her death was hastened by a doubt whether the Latin festival would "come up to time"'. It can hardly be denied, however, that Santer's interpretation does less violence to Latin and common sense than the

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

suggestion that the *Latinae feriae* should *in officio non manere* and not lead the victims up to the Alban mount! It is in my view unquestionable that *Latinae* as the subject of *in officio non manerent* and *non adducerent* means 'Latin women'. If this is so, then, we have evidence of the presence of Latin women at the festival and, as Mr. Kirk points out, the phrase *laeto mactasti lacte Latinas* may be taken literally 'when you sprinkled the Latin women with milk', and we are provided with some valuable new information about the rites on the Alban Mount. New point, indeed, is given to Professor Rose's own interpretation of *laeto lacte* as 'fertility-bringing milk'. On whom but the women of the tribes could such a rite be more appropriately performed? In this connexion it is relevant to recall the Lupercalia, at which after a *lustratio* by the *Luperci nudi*, 'the women were freed or purified from influences which might hinder them in the fulfilment of their natural duties to their families and the state' (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 302). It may well be that after the *lustratio* on the Alban mount the sprinkling of the Latin women with milk fulfilled a similar function, for as Warde Fowler points out (*ibid.* 316) milk is the source of life and, as we learnt from Professor Rose, *laeto lacte* means 'fertility-bringing milk'.

The second passage whose significance my critics decry as mere rhetoric is Seneca, *Ep.* 66. 50. Here they have not been altogether fair in stating my case. On *macte virtute* I offered nothing more than a suggestion. I had taken special care to relegate it to an excursus and expressly said that it was a consequence of my proof and not a part of it. *Macte* is unquestionably a ritual cry, and it seems not audacious to suppose that it originally meant something more than 'hail!' or 'bravo!' when addressed to soldiers. If this is true, then Seneca's specification *sanguinulentis* may not be accidental. To the evidence of Festus about the ritual impurity of the returning soldiers I add that of Masurius (see Eitrem, 210), who interprets the burning of bay leaves during the triumphal procession as *suffimentum caedis hostium et purgatio*. *Macte*, then, I regard as being originally a ritual cry addressed to soldiers, and *virtute* was added secondarily after the meaning had progressed to a vague 'bravo!'

But perhaps the most important and explicit piece of information we possess about the use of *mactus* is contained in Servius on *Aen.* ix. 141: 'quotiens enim aut tus aut vinum super victimam fundebatur, dicebant "mactus est taurus vino aut ture".' This passage is entirely ignored by Rose and Skutsch. Perhaps they might answer that the bull is literally 'increased', for there is more of him after the sprinkling than before, or that the bull's *mana* or powers are increased by the wine and incense. The latter suggestion would be not unpleasible. But it should be pointed out that the application of *mactus* to animal sacrifice is a secondary development. Nowhere in the ancient formulae quoted by Cato are *macte* and *mactare* used of animals, the technical word for animal sacrifice being *immolare*. Now Rose and Skutsch admit that *macte esto vino inferio* could 'without violating common sense or general probability be made to mean "be sprinkled with this libation of sacrificial wine".' They quite rightly point out, however, that the prayers preserved in Cato contain the phrase *macte istac dape pollucenda esto*, and they ask 'Are we to assume that it was originally the custom to throw the *dapes* at the god?' This rhetorical question is apparently intended to be a *reductio ad absurdum*. But is the throwing of food such a ritual absurdity? I venture to remind the distinguished *Religionsforscher* of a passage from Robertson Smith (op. cit. 225): 'A more primitive form of the same kind of offering (i.e. *lectisternum*) appears in Arabia, where the meal-offering to Ocaisir is cast by handfuls at the foot of the idol.' On the general ritual significance of throwing the offering I refer to Eitrem (op. cit. 280 f.). But we need not go so far afield to find a parallel: the terminology of Latin ritual itself provides an effective answer to the rhetorical question of my critics. The verb *porricio* is a technical word used in the sense of placing the entrails of the victim on the altar. Yet it is unquestionably

derived from *por+iacio* (Meillet-Ernout, 754). Here too it would be vain to ask 'Are we to assume that it was originally the custom to throw the entrails?' The truth is that words undergo strange transformations of sense, and that in semantics ribaldry is not a substitute for argument.

We may now survey the road we have travelled. \**Macio* is well founded in the morphology of the Latin language; its semantic history is paralleled by instances from diverse languages; the postulated meaning fits without difficulty into the contexts in which it is attested; and we have a natural explanation of the strange double syntax. F. Skutsch, in his review of Walde's *Wörterbuch*, once remarked that Latin etymologies are to be sought on the Tiber. In connecting *macte* with *macula* we may perhaps lay claim to his approval. \**Mago*, on the other hand, has no home. Invented to bridge the gap between *macte* and *magnus*, it is nothing more than *magis auctus* in modern dress.

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## NICIAS IN THUCYDIDES

THE informal character of political parties at Athens and the consequent absence of clearly defined party programmes often obscures the principles and aims of Athenian politicians. This obscurity is naturally greatest in the case of 'moderates', whose activities consisted largely of opposition to extremist elements of the Left or Right. Hence modern attempts to reconstruct their policies and assess their merits are liable to reach widely differing conclusions. A figure about whom there have been fluctuations of opinion, as well as some misconceptions, is Nicias. A passage in Aristotle used to be accepted as evidence that he was an oligarch,<sup>1</sup> and he was believed by many to have been a pacifist and a friend of Sparta. In an article which has had a deep influence upon subsequent accounts Allen B. West showed that he could be considered neither an oligarch nor a philo-Laconian pacifist.<sup>2</sup> On one point, however, West echoes a commonly accepted view, though he expresses it in very moderate terms: he believes that Thucydides treats Nicias too sympathetically and is inclined to be blind to his faults.<sup>3</sup> This view has been reaffirmed with much greater emphasis by other scholars who have strenuously challenged the impartiality of Thucydides in this respect.<sup>4</sup> Such charges appear to me to have little foundation, and I shall attempt to substantiate my opinion by examining Thucydides' account of Nicias. First, however, it is pertinent to ask whether the historian can have had any cogent reason for partisanship, and also to seek the source from which the commonly accepted view may have originated.

It is usual to account for the alleged prejudice of Thucydides by reference to party groupings in Athenian politics. He was, it is said, a Periclean democrat belonging to the Conservative group led by Nicias, and his election to the *strategia* for 424/3 marks a reaction against the policy of Cleon and the Radicals.<sup>5</sup> But the evidence for this reconstruction consists solely of opinions which he expresses in his capacity as an historian. His political judgements, though few, are strangely mixed and do not together amount to a wholly consistent creed. Strong admiration for Themistocles, Pericles, Antiphon, the constitution of the Five Thousand, qualified approval of Alcibiades and Theramenes, condemnation of Cleon and Hyperbolus—these do not automatically attach him to any party; the passages in which they occur were doubtless written at widely separated dates, and all, very probably, long after his political career was ended. Few would accuse him of sympathy with the more violent members of the Four Hundred, and his praise of Antiphon must be the outcome, not of party loyalty, but of the genuine admiration which exceptional talent evoked from an unbiased

<sup>1</sup> *Aθ. πολ. 28. 5.* The passage was known before the discovery of the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία*, for it is quoted by Plutarch (*Nicias*, 2. 1).

<sup>2</sup> C.P. xix (1924), 124-46 and 201-28. His conclusions are accepted in the main by Glotz, *Histoire grecque*, ii. 632-3, and Reincke, *R.E.* xvii. 333. De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* v (1927), 31-43, still insists on the pacifism of Nicias (this and the paper cited in note 4 are reprinted in his *Problemi di storia antica*).

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 142, n. 6. West is dealing only with the period from the death of Pericles to the Peace of Nicias.

<sup>4</sup> De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* vii (1929), 433-56 (especially 448—'I libri VI e VII della sua storia

sono in sostanza l'apologia tanto più efficace quanto meno appariscente del generale che ha voluto la grande spedizione e l'ha condotta al disastro finale'). Cohen, *Mélanges Glotz*, i. 227-39, who shrinks from accusing Thucydides of deliberate partiality, nevertheless uses phrases such as 'le panégyrique de Thucydide' (237) and 'un voile discret jeté souvent par le grand historien sur son insuffisance' (239). Cf. Reincke, op. cit. 331-2, who adds Plutarch.

<sup>5</sup> West, op. cit. 220, and *A.J.P.* xl (1924), 151-2. He believes that Thucydides was elected in the autumn of 424 to replace Eurymedon, but his very ingenious reconstruction is not wholly convincing.

critic.<sup>1</sup> Readers are probably justified in recognizing an element of personal animosity in his treatment of demagogues, but this attitude may date only from his banishment and was in any case shared by the majority of educated Athenians. It is as easy, in seeking to determine his political sympathies, to forget that Thucydides was an historian as it is to forget that Aristophanes was a comic poet. Though associated with Nicias on the board of *strategi* in 424 and banished probably through demagogic influence, Thucydides did not necessarily agree with his colleague either on the conduct of the war or on broader political issues. It is at least arguable, though impossible to prove, that he was at heart far more Periclean than Nicias.<sup>2</sup>

Disapproval of Thucydides' attitude towards Nicias may be traced back to Grote,<sup>3</sup> whose judgement was so often influenced by his own political sympathies. To him Nicias, as the opponent of his favourite Cleon, was a wicked oligarch, and this misconception causes his picture to be highly biased. His indignation is aroused by the famous sentence with which Thucydides ends his account of Nicias—*καὶ οὐ μὲν τοιαύτη η̄ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτίᾳ ἐτεθνήκει, ἥκιστα δὴ ἀξιος ὥν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἔμοιο Ἐλλήνων ἐς τούτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νεομοσμένην ἐπιτίθενται* (vii. 86. 5). According to Grote Thucydides is here endorsing the view of the Athenian populace that the private virtues of Nicias 'entitled him to the most indulgent construction of all his public shortcomings'.<sup>4</sup> But even if the demos were so deeply influenced by private qualities, which is most improbable, is Thucydides here accepting the verdict of popular opinion—for which he elsewhere shows some contempt<sup>5</sup>—in order to condone the part played by Nicias in the disaster? This passage is very largely responsible for the belief that he is unduly lenient towards Nicias, but it has sometimes been misinterpreted. No defence of Nicias' conduct of the campaign is expressed or implied;<sup>6</sup> readers are left to form their verdict on this from the preceding narrative. The words merely contrast the blamelessness of his private life with his miserable death. That Thucydides should show sympathy for one of his characters and mention private virtues is most unusual, but he has reached the close of his great tragedy, and the circumstances warrant a departure from his normal dispassionateness. Just as he describes the final battle in the Great Harbour dramatically rather than scientifically,<sup>7</sup> so he ends his account of Nicias' tragic career on a human note. The false impression wrung from these few words of sympathy finds no confirmation in the remainder of his narrative.

Nicias is introduced as a soldier, and his military exploits in the Archidamian War are described with that transparent economy of detail which the historian reserves for operations producing no important result.<sup>8</sup> Except in the case of the attack on Minoa, a minor action which was wholly successful (iii. 51), the number of ships and men under his command is recorded in each instance.<sup>9</sup> From these figures it is clear

<sup>1</sup> viii. 68. Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, 121, thinks that he was a friend of Antiphon; of this there is no evidence.

<sup>2</sup> West seems to me to exaggerate the extent to which Nicias can be regarded as a continuator of Pericles' policy. The supporters of the one did not by any means coincide with the supporters of the other, and it is hard to believe that Nicias could ever have deliberately started a war. In the *Acharnians* Dicaeopolis indirectly attacks Pericles, while the policy which he advocates seems to be a comic travesty of that of Nicias. Use of the term Periclean, applied narrowly to war-policy, is misleading after 427,

when the effect of the plague on Athenian manpower and of the Lesbian revolt on Athenian finances had created a new situation with which the plans of Pericles were not designed to deal.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Greece*, v. 203-10, and vi. 182-4.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. vi. 183. He accepts a manifestly inferior reading.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. vi. 15 (on Alcibiades).

<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, it is impossible to agree with Bury (op. cit. 119), who considers the passage to be malicious.

<sup>7</sup> Ferguson, *C.A.H.* v. 308.

<sup>8</sup> Even Pericles is not spared (ii. 56).

<sup>9</sup> iii. 91; iv. 42-5, 53-7, 129-33. No numbers

that, while he escaped defeat, his half-successes afforded small compensation for the outlay involved.<sup>1</sup> More significant is the report of the debate in the Assembly on the situation at Pylos (iv. 27-8). The prejudice of Thucydides against Cleon is here unmistakable, for he delights in presenting him in an embarrassing position. But it has often been observed that the episode brings considerable discredit on Nicias.<sup>2</sup> In order to ruin a personal enemy he seems prepared to endanger the vital interests of Athens, since the most promising means of extracting favourable terms of peace from Sparta would be lost if incompetent leadership allowed the hoplites on Sphacteria to escape. His conduct is defended by West,<sup>3</sup> and he was perhaps guilty rather of miscalculation than of disloyalty to the state. But Thucydides must have recognized that his account would expose Nicias to damaging charges. If he had been anxious to shield him, he could surely have produced a more adequate defence, especially in a passage where in portraying Cleon he forsakes his usual impartiality. The outcome of the debate 'pleased the sober-minded members of the audience',<sup>4</sup> but this statement does not suggest that Thucydides approved of the tactics of Nicias. According to Plutarch his resignation was popularly attributed to cowardice,<sup>5</sup> and this is an interpretation which the account of Thucydides does not entirely exclude.

The truce of one year concluded in 423 must have been largely the work of Nicias. Its terms were favourable to Athens,<sup>6</sup> and only circumstances beyond his control prevented it from leading to a permanent peace. Yet Thucydides makes little of this diplomatic success, mentioning him only in a quotation from a formal document as one of the three *strategi* who took the oath on behalf of Athens (iv. 119. 2). On the other hand, the part played by him in the Peace which was to bear his name is fully stressed (v. 16, cf. 46. 5). But the motives to which his desire for peace are ascribed deserve careful attention—*Nicias μὲν βουλόμενος, ἐν δὲ ἀπαθῆς ἦν καὶ ηξιωτό, διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν, καὶ ἐσ τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπανθόσι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῖσσι καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν σύνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφίλας τὴν πόλιν διεγένετο, νομίζων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τούτοις ἐνυμβαίνειν καὶ δοτισι ἐλάχιστα τύχηι αὐτὸν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ἀκινδύνον τὴν εἰρήνην παρέχειν.*<sup>7</sup> Though Thucydides is inclined to attribute to personal ambition the policies even of those of whom he admires,<sup>8</sup> these are scarcely the words of an apologist. Nicias must have foreseen some of the difficulties which were to arise in the fulfilment of clauses favourable to Athens, and yet he is eager for peace to safeguard his personal reputation.<sup>9</sup> The Athenians anticipated with joy their release from war<sup>10</sup> and are said to have been filled with gratitude towards Nicias,<sup>11</sup> but these feelings are passed over by Thucydides, who attributes their desire for peace to discouragement caused by their defeats and fear of revolts among the allies (v. 14. 1). Finally,

are given in v. 83. 4, but this obscure passage leaves room for doubt whether Nicias actually left Athens.

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, op. cit. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, *The Great War between Athens and Sparta*, 216-17, who quotes earlier writers including Grote.

<sup>3</sup> C.P. xix (1924), 212-14.

<sup>4</sup> 28. 5 (*τοῖς σώφροις*). As the form of the sentence shows, those who took politics seriously are contrasted with the irresponsible mob, which treated the incident as a sensational joke.

<sup>5</sup> Nic. 8. 1-2, cf. Alcib. 14. 4. The relation of Plutarch and his authorities to Thucydides is discussed below.

<sup>6</sup> West, op. cit. 220-1.

<sup>7</sup> v. 16. 1, which Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. 378,

interprets as a condemnation of Nicias. The sentiments here attributed to Nicias resemble those censured by Pericles in his last speech (ii. 63-4).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. v. 16. 1 on Brasidas and v. 43 on Alcibiades.

<sup>9</sup> Cohen, op. cit. 231-2 (cf. Bury, op. cit. 119). I cannot, however, agree that in the passage quoted above 'Thucydide a cherché à corriger ensuite la franchise de son aveu'.

<sup>10</sup> Aristoph. *Peace*, passim. The value of this picture as a supplement to the account of Thucydides is noted by Croiset, *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens*, 110-11.

<sup>11</sup> Plut. Nic. 9. 8-9, Alcib. 14. 2. His source cannot be traced.

there is little in the narrative of Thucydides to preclude the suggestion that by making peace at this stage Nicias threw away the opportunity of gaining a decisive advantage.<sup>1</sup> It is only from epigraphical evidence, which illustrates the financial exhaustion of Athens, that this hypothesis can be disproved.<sup>2</sup>

After the conclusion of the alliance between Athens and Sparta which soon followed the Peace<sup>3</sup> Nicias disappears for a time from the pages of Thucydides. He was probably *strategus* for 421/20 and must have been fully occupied in rebuilding the damaged resources of Athens. In 420 he is completely outmanœuvred by Alcibiades, and when his mission to Sparta proves an ignominious failure, he is terrified by the prospect of having to face the angry Assembly.<sup>4</sup> His policy of retrenchment at home, restoration of strict control over the empire and avoidance of friction with Sparta would almost certainly have been more beneficial to Athens than the aggressive plans of Alcibiades, which led to disastrous intervention in Peloponnesian quarrels.<sup>5</sup> Yet Thucydides gives no hint of his own verdict on the respective merits of the two policies.<sup>6</sup>

The views of Thucydides on the prospects of the Sicilian expedition are expressed in unequivocal terms. It was not in itself an error of judgement, but its chances of success were destroyed by blunders arising from party struggles at Athens; these caused the recall of Alcibiades and left the direction of operations to less competent commanders.<sup>7</sup> Nicias, on the other hand, regarded the enterprise as impracticable, as is apparent from his two speeches delivered in the Assembly (vi. 9-14 and 20-3). Since Thucydides throughout his account of the Sicilian expedition is particularly well informed about Nicias, these speeches perhaps reproduce the speaker's arguments even more closely than usual. On at least two points he disagrees with Thucydides. First, his protest that he is not consulting his own interests in advocating a peaceful policy (9. 2) reads like a defence against the historian's interpretation of his motives in 421.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, he argues that Athens has not fully recovered from the effects of the plague and the Archidamian War (12. 1), whereas Thucydides considers this recovery complete (26. 2). Not only is Nicias mistaken in his main thesis and in points of detail, but he appears in a somewhat ludicrous light when, miscalculating the temper of the Athenians, he tries to deter them by stressing the magnitude of the armament required. For the second time he is defeated in debate by Alcibiades, and his personal animus against his rival is unconcealed (12. 2).

Why did he consent to participate in leading an expedition of which he disapproved? Thucydides supplies no answer to this question, though the motives of Nicias were very probably laudable. A desire to take revenge on Alcibiades has been attributed to him,<sup>9</sup> but it may be doubted whether his decision was influenced by private ambition except in the negative sense that refusal to accept joint command of the expedition might permanently have damaged his position at home. He must have realized that he had been appointed in order to counterbalance the irresponsible brilliance of Alcibiades, and his behaviour in Sicily is that of a man conscientiously

be remembered that Alcibiades was inadequately supported.

<sup>1</sup> De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* v (1927), 31-43.  
<sup>2</sup> Lenschau, *Bursian*, ccxlii (1934), 65; cf. Glotz, op. cit. 657.

<sup>3</sup> v. 23-4. In *A.J.P.* lxi (1940), 420-1, I have

endeavoured to show why Nicias favoured the conclusion of this alliance.

<sup>4</sup> v. 45-6. The motive of Nicias in securing a renewal of the oaths (46. 4-5) is an unessential detail and could well have been omitted. The implications of Thucydides' account are developed in that of Plutarch (*Nic.* 10. 7-9).

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *G.d.A.* iv. 472. It must, however,

<sup>6</sup> See above on v. 16. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cohen, op. cit. 233.

discharging an unwelcome duty. He included a threat of resignation in his attempt to bring about the abandonment of the expedition (23. 3), but he evidently felt that, if the fleet were to sail, he would be obliged to sail with it.

Thucydides does not discuss or criticize the plans advanced by the three Athenian generals in the council of war held at Rhegium (47-9), but his presentation of the debate betrays a predilection for Lamachus' proposal to attack Syracuse, which is favoured—perhaps erroneously—by most modern scholars.<sup>1</sup> The cautious plan of Nicias, which is consistent with his speeches in the Assembly, seems to be regarded as fainthearted, and this impression is confirmed by a later passage.<sup>2</sup> After the departure of Alcibiades the operations are conducted by 'the generals' or 'the Athenians'. Thus Nicias does not receive the credit, which is almost certainly his,<sup>3</sup> for planning the successful landing at Dascon in the autumn and the capture of Epipolae in the following spring, though he is at the same time shielded from full responsibility for the withdrawal from Syracuse for the winter, which bears the mark of his caution and is usually considered a strategic blunder.<sup>4</sup> The energy and practical ability of Lamachus must have been of the greatest value throughout these operations, and it is significant that the rapid progress of the blockade terminated abruptly with his death. But the broad outlines of Athenian strategy were doubtless determined by Nicias. His illness had begun before Lamachus was killed, but Thucydides mentions this somewhat casually (102. 2) and does not appear to hold it responsible for the subsequent stagnation of the Athenian offensive.

With Nicias left in sole command Thucydides' opinion of his generalship is more easily traced. Through misguided contempt for Gylippus and his small armament he fails to take adequate precautions to prevent him from reaching Syracuse (vi. 104. 3; vii. 1-2). Although the third Syracusean counter-wall has not yet intersected the Athenian line, he now despairs of operations on land (vii. 4. 4) and concentrates upon the construction of a naval base at Plemmyrium. This is considered by Thucydides to be a mistake owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies (4. 6). The dispatch which Nicias sent to Athens at the end of this summer is both pathetic and revealing (11-15). Since there is no reason to believe that a copy of the original was preserved, it belongs rather to the category of Thucydidean speeches than to that of documents which he has transcribed verbatim.<sup>5</sup> The wording has been chosen by the historian, and it is scarcely credible that even Nicias can in the original report have allowed his incapacity to stand out so glaringly. He has surrendered the initiative to the enemy, he is unable to check insubordination among his troops, and he tells the unpleasant truth to preserve his own safety. Though mention of his illness may rouse some sympathy, his defence is so lame as almost to amount to self-condemnation.

Retained in his command through the folly of the Athenian populace, he naturally remains on the defensive in the spring of 413 awaiting the arrival of Demosthenes, and he can scarcely be blamed for the loss of Plemmyrium and the defeats of his rapidly deteriorating fleet. On the other hand, Thucydides surely intends that his

<sup>1</sup> The plan of Lamachus is recorded at some length and with a convincing eloquence of which its originator was probably incapable. According to Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 2, 1305, Philistus thought the proposal of Lamachus the best, but this is a mere conjecture, which is not supported by Plutarch (*Nic.* 14. 3). De Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* vii (1929), 448-51, strangely believes the account of this council to be a fabrication. If Thucydides invented the plan of Nicias with the object of shielding him, he could surely have found a less discreditable one.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 42. 3 (the survey of Demosthenes, which will be mentioned below).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plut., *Nic.* 16. 1-6 and 17. 1. Plutarch, however, wishing to focus attention on Nicias and perhaps influenced by the *Acharnians*, exaggerates the subordination of Lamachus.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vii. 42. 3, where the withdrawal is attributed to Nicias. Contemporary opinion at Athens is represented by a reference in the *Birds* (640, *μελλοντικῶν*), produced early in 414.

<sup>5</sup> Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature*, 167, n. 2.

readers should endorse the severely critical views of Demosthenes, who has no patience with the hesitant methods practised by Nicias from the opening of the campaign (42. 3). In the deliberation of the generals which follows the failure of the attack on Epipolae the combination of irresolution and obstinacy in the character of Nicias is exposed in the clearest light (48-9). Inwardly undecided on the question of withdrawal from Syracuse,<sup>1</sup> he opposes this step with unusual vehemence when addressing his colleagues. Fear of condemnation after his return to Athens is, as he freely admits, his principal reason for adopting this course. His other argument against evacuation is the exhaustion of the Syracusans, but collapse or betrayal could scarcely be expected on the eve of victory. His optimistic tone misleads his colleagues, who imagine that he must be in possession of information which he does not disclose. Hence, although Eurymedon shares the opinion of Demosthenes that withdrawal is imperative, no decision is reached until finally after a delay of some weeks circumstances compel even Nicias to yield.<sup>2</sup> The general panic which the eclipse of the moon inspires is paralleled by the reaction to the mutilation of the Hermae, and it cannot be held that the greater part of the army is associated with Nicias in his superstitious fears in order to lessen his responsibility. His proneness to superstition is stressed in a contemptuous parenthesis—*ἢν γάρ τι καὶ ἄγαν θειασμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιότῳ προσκείμενος* (50. 4).

His heroism in the last stages of the disaster does not appear to be exaggerated. It is characteristic of him to be at his best in a desperate situation, and his two final speeches are the most effective of his career. A few minor features of the story are, however, not wholly creditable. Acceptance of his offer to pay the expenses incurred by Syracuse throughout the war if his section of the army were spared (83. 2) would have completed the financial ruin of Athens, and his personal surrender to Gylippus could be interpreted as an attempt to save his own life<sup>3</sup> in spite of his disavowal of this motive (85. 1, 86. 3). The significance of Thucydides' closing words of sympathy (86. 5) has already been discussed.

The impression created in antiquity by Thucydides' picture of Nicias is illustrated by the *Nicias* of Plutarch. The earlier chapters, being drawn from a host of miscellaneous sources, are to a large extent independent of the tradition established by Thucydides, but the account of the Sicilian expedition, which is based on historical authorities, throws some light on the problem under discussion. The narrative of Plutarch is especially valuable in that it is subjective and full of judgements, favourable and unfavourable, upon the character and generalship of Nicias. While the bulk of the material must derive ultimately from Thucydides, the influence of a Sicilian tradition represented by Philistus and Timaeus is plainly traceable.<sup>4</sup> Philistus, though an eyewitness of the campaign in his boyhood, is said to have followed Thucydides very closely,<sup>5</sup> and Timaeus used both his predecessors. As Nicias must long have remained an arch-enemy in Syracusan minds, the Sicilian tradition would naturally

<sup>1</sup> Here as elsewhere it may be assumed that Thucydides does not merely guess the feelings of Nicias. Abbott, *Thucydides*, 86-8, points out that where he is uncertain he admits uncertainty and does not speculate. The clumsily repetitive character of vii. 48-9 is designed to stress the indecision of Nicias.

<sup>2</sup> He insists that an open vote should not be recorded (50. 3), and his motive is perhaps not merely to conceal the decision from the Syracusans but also to render more difficult the substantiation of charges against himself and his colleagues after their return to Athens. Thucydides, however, does not make this point

clear.

<sup>3</sup> So Plutarch interprets it in *Comp. Nic. et Crass.* 5. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Philistus is no doubt responsible for several proper names not found in Thucydides and for some details which would impress a youthful eyewitness (Busolt, *Hermes*, xxxiv (1899), 287-91); Timaeus probably for omens and oracles (*ibid.* 295-6).

<sup>5</sup> Theon, *Progymn.* in *Rhet. Graec.* (ed. Spengel) ii. 63. 25. His charge of plagiarism, though certainly exaggerated, doubtless has some foundation (Laqueur, *R.E.* xix. 2416).

be hostile, and there is evidence that Philistus occasionally interpreted his actions most unsympathetically.<sup>1</sup> This hostility is liable to lead to inaccuracy. For example, in Thucydides Demosthenes persuades Nicias, apparently without difficulty, to sanction the night attack on Epipolae (vii. 43. 1, cf. Diod. xiii. 11. 3), whereas in Plutarch Nicias after strenuous opposition is eventually outvoted (21. 3-6, cf. 22. 1).<sup>2</sup> Now some of the judgements on the actions of Nicias may be based upon information, whether true or false, independently contributed by Sicilian authorities, but many are inferences, mostly legitimate, drawn solely from the objective narrative of Thucydides. It is impossible either to discriminate with certainty between these two classes or to decide at what stage in the transmission of the story each inference was made.<sup>3</sup> In some cases facts supplied by Thucydides are used in defence of Nicias: stress laid upon his illness, for instance, extenuates his failures and accentuates his fortitude (17. 3; 26. 4). But Plutarch's tone is more critical in the *Nicias* than in most *Lives*, and a number of inferences from Thucydides' account are unfavourable. While the latter does not expressly criticize the plan suggested by Nicias in the council of Rhegium (vi. 47), Plutarch roundly censures its excessive caution (14. 2-3).<sup>4</sup> Thus the alleged bias of Thucydides evoked a corresponding bias neither in the subjective version of Plutarch nor, apparently, in those of intermediate writers. Yet, if they detected so easily the attempt of Thucydides to impose upon them, it is indeed strange that they should have paid him the compliment of following his account so closely.

From the foregoing examination it is seen that Thucydides ignores opportunities of defending or commanding Nicias, attributes discreditable motives to him, disagrees with his opinions, underlines his strategic errors, and, most frequently of all, allows his failures to speak for themselves. The modern verdict that Nicias was a mediocre statesman and general called upon to play a part for which he was unsuited is derived almost exclusively from Thucydides, and it is the verdict which he intends to suggest. If he shows any sympathy at all for Nicias, it is a sympathy which springs from an intimate knowledge of contemporary politics and warfare. He could appreciate the difficulty both of controlling the Athenian demos, at whose hands he had suffered banishment, and of conducting a blockade at Syracuse, where he had studied the terrain with minute care. There is no reason to believe that he rescued Nicias from the stigma of being held responsible for the ultimate loss of the Athenian empire.<sup>5</sup> When the Sicilian disaster was still a lively memory in the minds of many Athenians and the *History* of Thucydides had not yet acquired its dominating authority, Lysias—admittedly a somewhat unreliable witness—could warmly praise the public services of Nicias,<sup>6</sup> and Plato in a very early dialogue could draw an

<sup>1</sup> *Fr.* 46, *F.H.G.* i. 189. A fragment of Timaeus (*fr.* 103, *F.H.G.* i. 219) implies condemnation of the Athenian expedition, and Laqueur, *op. cit.* 2426, believes that he was hostile to Nicias.

<sup>2</sup> The arguments here attributed to Nicias are among those which in Thucydides (vii. 48) he uses in opposing withdrawal from Syracuse. They appear to have been deliberately misplaced by some writer who wished to represent him as incapable of consenting to offensive action even where it was clearly desirable.

<sup>3</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.* 292-5, attributes all the criticisms of Nicias' generalship (whether founded upon the account of Thucydides or upon independent information) to Philistus. This is unwarranted.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *Nic.* 15. 3-4 with *Thuc.* vi. 62. On the

condemnation of the part played by Nicias in the debate on Pylos (which cannot be affected by the Sicilian tradition, though it may be influenced to some extent by comedy) see above, 60, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> According to Pausanias (i. 29. 12) it was because he had acted dishonourably that his name did not appear in an inscription at Athens which gave a list of the dead. But Pausanias may well be mistaken in assuming the deliberate omission of his name; the inscription can scarcely have been a complete casualty list, which would be enormous, and may have referred only to certain tribes. The quotation from Philistus contained in this passage concerns only the voluntary surrender of Nicias and has nothing to do with the inscription.

<sup>6</sup> xviii. 2-3. The date of the speech is c. 396.

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attractive picture of him as an intelligent and cultivated man and an expert on courage.<sup>1</sup> Cleon, Agis, and a few lesser characters in Thucydides are undervalued, still fewer, such as Brasidas and possibly Pericles, may be ranked too highly. Nicias belongs to the large company of those whose merits and defects are weighed with perfect judgement and strict impartiality.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The *Laches* is dated by most scholars among the earliest Platonic dialogues. The dramatic date is c. 423-420, when the reputation of Nicias stood high, but readers could not be expected entirely to forget subsequent events.

<sup>2</sup> This article was accepted for publication by

*Philologus* shortly before the outbreak of war. Since, very naturally, no proofs have been received, I have now considered myself justified in submitting it to this journal. Revision has caused me to make a few unimportant changes.

## RESOLVED FEET IN THE TRIMETERS OF EURIPIDES AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLAYS<sup>1</sup>

THE regular increase in the proportion of resolved feet in the iambic trimeters of Euripides' later plays was first commented upon in 1807 by J. Gottfried Hermann,<sup>2</sup> who therefrom deduced the principle that the date of any play of Euripides could be directly determined from the frequency of its resolutions. This criterion he restated in several of his works<sup>3</sup> in the following years, and when Elmsley<sup>4</sup> objected that it was of uncertain value on account of the small number of plays of certain date by which it might be verified, he replied with a strong defence of his case:<sup>5</sup> he did not, however, develop his principle in detail or give figures in its support.<sup>6</sup> The first scholar to publish the totals of trisyllabic feet in each play was Zirndorfer:<sup>7</sup> relying largely on these, he produced a chronology of Euripides' dramatic composition in several respects superior to any predecessor's. His conclusions were questioned by C. F. W. Müller,<sup>8</sup> who, while accepting Hermann's thesis as being in general correct, doubted its reliability for determining the *exact* period of a tragedy's composition. Consequently, although he gave the totals of trisyllabic feet *en passant*, Müller made no attempt to suggest dates. At almost the same time as Müller's treatise appeared, J. Rumpel<sup>9</sup> published an article giving a full and detailed list of references to all trisyllabic feet in Euripides: from this evidence he divided the dramas into four age-groups, but did not go so far as to assign specific dates. Criticisms of Zirndorfer's dating similar to those made by Müller were put forward by T. Bergk<sup>10</sup>—but, it must

<sup>1</sup> I am obliged to Mr. E. Harrison for many helpful suggestions upon this paper and especially for very generous assistance in the revision of the statistics. He has checked my lists by his own, and the corrections that I owe to him have brought his figures and mine into harmony except that each of us includes or excludes some lines of the text (cf. *infra*, p. 69, n. 7, p. 70, n. 2, and p. 84, nn. 1 and 2) which the other excludes or includes.

<sup>2</sup> *Observationes de Graecae linguae dialectis*, 1807, § 9 (in *Opuscula*, i, 1827, p. 136): 'Patet vero, vicissim e diligentia poetae vel negligenter aetatem fabulæ elucescere'.

<sup>3</sup> *Eur. Supplices*, 1811, p. iv: *Elementa Doctrinae Metricæ*, Leipzig, 1816, p. 115; Glasgow, 1817, p. 79: *Epitome Doctr. Metr.*, 1818, p. 59; 2nd ed. 1844, p. 54: *Eur. Bacchæ*, 1823, p. xxxix (also pp. xli and xlii).

<sup>4</sup> *Eur. Medea*, Oxford, 1818, p. 70, n. h; Leipzig, 1822, p. 55, n. h; 'melius de ea re judicare possemus, si pauciores essent Euripidiæ tragœdiae, quarum aetas nobis prorsus ignota esset'.

<sup>5</sup> Notice of Mr. Elmsley's Edition of the *Medea* of Euripides', *Classical Journal*, vol. xix (no. 38), 1819, pp. 271-2, reprinted under title of 'Annotationes Hermanni' in Elmsley, *Medea*, Leipzig, 1822, p. 329, and in Elmsley, *Heracidae et Medea*, 2nd ed., 1828, p. 486: 'nobis quidem minime dubia videtur haec ratio tempora tragœdiarum ex scribendi incuria constituendi'.

<sup>6</sup> If he had done so, he would hardly have made the error of stating, with regard to the *Ion*, 'quantum ex numeris versuum colligi potest, scripta haec fabula nec post Olymp. LXXXIX [424-421] nec multo prius' (*Ion*, 1827, p. xxxii).

<sup>7</sup> *De chronologia fabularum Euripidearum disp.*, Marburg, 1839. Zirndorfer's figures are far from correct, especially in the case of the *He*.

<sup>8</sup> *De pedibus solutis in dialogorum senariis Aeschyli, Sophoclis, Euripidis*, Berlin, 1866, p. 12, 'ne indicium illud nimis sit fallax atque haud raro deceperit Zirndorferum, vereor quam maxime'; cf. p. 43. Müller's totals, given in a footnote to p. 44, are commendably accurate.

<sup>9</sup> 'Die Auflösungen im Trimeter des Euripides', *Philologus*, xxiv (1866), pp. 407-21. His long lists of references are fairly complete, but need to be analysed and tabulated before being of any practical value. As J. Descroix (*Le Trimètre iambique*, p. 109) remarks, 'les pourcentages ne sont pas marqués qui seuls permettraient une comparaison facile et efficace'. Such a tabulation of Rumpel's lists was in fact provided by R. H. Tanner in 'The *Odwoofs* of Cratinus and the Cyclops of Euripides', *Trans. Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* xlvi (1915), p. 185, n. 34; in it a few of Rumpel's minor errors are corrected (p. 186, n.). Other faults in Rumpel's work are criticized by Descroix, pp. 109, 120-1, 172.

<sup>10</sup> 'Die Abfassungszeit der *Andromache* des Euripides', *Hermes*, xviii (1883), p. 496, n. 2:

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be admitted, probably for no other reason than that some of Zirndorfer's dates clashed with those which he himself proposed. More recently the value of the frequency of resolution in Euripides as evidence for the time of a tragedy's composition has been generally recognized by scholars. Thus Wilamowitz<sup>1</sup> wrote: 'mehr als aus diesen äusserlichen Kriterien ist aus der sprachlichen und metrischen Form zu gewinnen, wofür G. Hermann die grundlegenden Beobachtungen gemacht hat', and A. E. Haigh<sup>2</sup> went further by stating: 'the comparative frequency of resolved syllables in a play is an indication, if not of the exact year, at any rate of the general period, to which it belongs'. Even H. D. F. Kitto,<sup>3</sup> who in the case of Sophocles holds that the frequency of resolution has little or no connexion with chronology, makes no objection to the application of stylostatistics to Euripides, 'whose dramatic mind, and therefore methods, were different. Sophocles more than any other dramatist reflects the speaker's mind at the moment in language, rhythm, even syntax; . . . An "external" style like Euripides' is much more likely to change chronologically and measurably'. This is certainly true: but it is not enough to imply merely that Euripides made no *conscious* effort to vary his metrical style according to the needs of different dramas: in point of fact many of the various tendencies and trends discussed below exhibit such remarkable regularity in their progress, in complete disregard of the widely divergent character and emotional content of each successive drama, that they may be considered to be predominantly *unconscious*—or rather *subconscious*.<sup>4</sup> It is from this circumstance that the principle gains its reliability, since it seems that only in rare instances is the subconscious development of the resolution-frequency distorted by any conscious or deliberate change of style.<sup>5</sup> There remains, however, the possibility that some distortion may have been caused by *accidental* changes in the use of resolution. These so-called 'natural' or 'inevitable' variations are not infrequently postulated by scholars on the perhaps understandable supposition that it would indeed be a noteworthy phenomenon if Euripides' metrical practice had developed with perfectly rigid and unaltering regularity over a period of so many years. Some minute and unimportant fluctuations are admittedly found (see p. 71, n. 1: cf. also p. 78, n. 4); but whether they occurred on a large scale is a question that cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. Accidental variations *may* account for the unexpected resolution-frequencies in four plays (*El.*, *Phoen.*, *Bacch.*, and *I.A.*, q.v. below): yet in each case there are alternative explanations of at least equal plausibility. However, apart from these possible exceptions, the poet's style in all the other plays seems to have developed steadily and uninterruptedly; and it

'dieses formale Kriterium ist ein wohl zu beachtendes Moment, auf dessen Bedeutung schon lange vorher G. Hermann hingewiesen hatte, aber durchaus kein untrüglicher Maßstab. Noch weniger durfte Zirndorfer mit diesem metrischen Kanon die dramatische Composition der euripideischen Tragödien unmittelbar in Verbindung bringen.'

<sup>1</sup> *Herakles*, ii<sup>2</sup> (1895), p. 143, cf. i<sup>1</sup> (1889), p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, 1896, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sophocles, Statistics, and the "Trachiniae"', *Amer. Journ. Philol.*, Ix (1939), p. 178, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The great change between *Hippol.* and *Andr.* (see below) must have been entirely deliberate (whether or not lost plays intervened): the subsequent general tendency for the resolutions to increase was probably due in part to conscious intention, in part to unconscious development of style. But in most other respects

the development seems to have been usually subconscious.

<sup>5</sup> It would of course be quite incorrect to claim that nowhere in the plays do passages occur where Euripides consciously varied the frequency of resolutions to express special emotions or to create special effects: Descroix (pp. 236-8) cites several possible examples, some of them in the *Bacchae*: 's'il est question de Dionysos, de son culte, des Ménades, le rythme devient agité et comme secoué par le délire bacique; les séries de brèves se pressent. Mais la situation se fait pathétique, les résolutions disparaissent. . . .' There are without doubt certain other similar instances: but on the whole they appear to be relatively few in number, and to make little or no difference to the figures for the complete plays.

is on this assumption that are based the datings suggested below as being those most probably indicated by the metrical evidence.

Several sets of statistics illustrative of Hermann's criterion have been compiled. The bare totals of trisyllabic feet and their frequency were given by some of the scholars mentioned above,<sup>1</sup> by A. Church,<sup>2</sup> by E. Harrison,<sup>3</sup> and others;<sup>4</sup> fuller calculations and exhaustive analyses have been published by T. Zieliński<sup>5</sup> and J. Descroix.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless none of these figures can be considered satisfactory: what appears to be an error of principle (committed in all of them?) is the inclusion of trisyllabic feet caused by proper names.<sup>8</sup> It is clear that whereas in the case of ordinary words the poet had complete freedom<sup>9</sup> in the choice whether or not to employ words causing resolution, in the case of proper names he had little opportunity of avoiding those that were traditionally inherent in the story with which he was dealing, and that it was in consequence entirely a matter of chance how many or how few of these names happened to be such as would cause trisyllabic feet.<sup>10</sup> To choose a random instance, in the *Ion* there are 19 resolutions (in 1,045 lines) involving proper names, but in the *Helen* (composed soon afterwards) there are 101 (in 1,253 lines). The main reason for this sudden increase is that the plot of the *Helen* requires the frequent repetition of the names 'Ελένη, Μενέλαος, and (to a lesser extent) Θεονόη. To include the numbers of resolutions due to these names (most of which Euripides had no option but to employ) in the total of trisyllabic feet, as the above-mentioned writers have done, is largely to destroy the value of the statistics as indications of the *free* development of Euripides' style.<sup>11</sup> Another example occurs in the *Hippolytus*, where several of these

<sup>1</sup> The percentages used by Haigh (p. 283, n. 1) were calculated (without direct acknowledgement) from Zirndorfer's totals, and are consequently quite unreliable; the figure for the *He.* (cf. also p. 295, n. 1) is exceptionally inaccurate.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Chronology of the Dramas of Euripides', *C.R.* xiv (1900), p. 438. The smallness of the resolution-frequencies attributed by Church to some plays shows that a very large number of trisyllabic feet must have been entirely overlooked. The figures are in consequence extremely misleading: e.g. in the list of increasing resolutions, the positions of *Med.* and *Alc.*, *He.* and *Andr.*, *Phoen.* and *Ion* are all inverted out of their true order, while *Herad.* and *Herc.* are quite out of place. It is unfortunate that H. J. Rose, in his *Handbook of Greek Literature*, 1934, (see p. 184, n. 17) accepted such an inaccurate set of statistics.

<sup>3</sup> 'Verse-Weight', *C.Q.* viii (1914), pp. 209–10; 'Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1203', *C.R.* xxxvii (1923), p. 13, cf. *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.* xciv–xcvi (1913), p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Firthaber, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1841, pp. 294–5, gave, for both *Bach.* and *I.A.*, totals of resolved feet in each position and classified references to lines containing two or three resolutions. His figures are unreliable, as he himself admitted (p. 294, n.). Similar totals (fairly complete) were provided for *Tro.*, *I.T.*, *Ion*, and *He.* by L. Enthoven (see below, p. 79, n. 6).

<sup>5</sup> *Tragodumenon Libri Tres*, Cracow, 1925, Liber II, pp. 133–240.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Trimètre iambique des iambographes à la*

*comédie nouvelle*, Mâcon, 1931.

<sup>7</sup> Except in the totals published by C. F. W. Müller and Enthoven, and in the inadequate percentages of A. Church.

<sup>8</sup> All references to 'proper names', both here and below, should be understood as also including adjectives formed from proper names.

<sup>9</sup> Except perhaps in some of the declined cases of πατήρ, in ἵερος, πόλεμος (and compounds), πότερον, θάνατος, etc., common words without suitable Greek equivalents or alternatives, which cause resolution whenever used: cf. p. 73, below.

<sup>10</sup> It is true that, as a natural development parallel to the increase in frequency of ordinary resolutions, Euripides tended to use proper names which involve resolution more often in the later than in the earlier plays. Thus lines like 'Ελένη Μενέλαος ἵνα λάβῃ, καλὸν γένος (*I.A.* 1168) do not normally appear in his earlier composition. But in spite of this increasing tendency to repeat resolution-causing proper names frequently and sometimes even superfluously, the fact remains that his employment of them was never anything like free (in the sense that his employment of ordinary resolutions was free), since at all times he was clearly unable either to avoid them (beyond a certain degree) if the plot required them, or to repeat them if the plot did not require them. Consequently such resolutions should be considered in a class apart. (For a discussion of some of them see Harrison in *C.R.* liv (1940), p. 154.)

<sup>11</sup> Kitto (p. 184, n. 7) suggests, with reference to Sophocles, that 'so evidently careful a crafts-

sets of figures show eleven instances of a dactyl in the first foot, although the play was written in a period of Euripides' composition when first-foot dactyls are very rare indeed. The compilers correctly remark<sup>1</sup> that each of the eleven cases was caused by the proper name *Iāmōlūros*: but no word of explanation or comment is given in the countless other instances which occur in some of these statistics where the inclusion of the totals due to proper names causes equally great but less obvious distortion.<sup>2</sup> Yet another important consideration is the fact that the difference between resolutions involving proper names and those involving ordinary words must always have been kept very clearly in mind by the tragedians themselves, as is shown by their admission of anapaestic proper names into feet where anapaestic ordinary words were forbidden. It is therefore essential that all resolutions involving proper names should be kept in a class apart,<sup>3</sup> not only in order to permit a uniform standard of comparison between the plays, but also to ensure that only that part of the poet's metrical style in which he was completely free should be examined.<sup>4</sup> For other reasons also some of the previous statistics must be considered very unsatisfactory: those of Zirndorfer include resolutions in trochaic tetrameters catalectic: those of Rumpel contain 'lyric trimeters' which, being embedded in lyric passages, clearly belong to a style quite different from that of the spoken lines:<sup>5</sup> those of Zieliński lose much of their worth because of his exclusion of first-foot anapaests, which are treated in a separate chapter (pp. 199–203).

The following principles, accordingly, have been observed in the compilation of the tables. (1) Resolutions involving<sup>6</sup> proper names and adjectives formed from them are ignored in the calculations and the observations on style, but their totals are given in the last three columns of Table 1 for the sake of completeness. (2) Lyric trimeters (i.e. such as were, apparently, sung or chanted) are not included; but such trimeters as seem to have been *spoken* by a character in dialogue with the chorus or with another actor singing in lyrics have been included, e.g. *Hel.* 625–6, 630–1, 646–7, etc.<sup>7</sup>

man would obviously avoid ordinary resolutions in proportion as he could not avoid the others' [i.e. resolutions involving proper names]; but the same would hardly be applicable in the case of Euripides.

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, p. 209, n. 1; Zieliński, pp. 144–5; Descroix, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to the last columns of Table 1 shows that the set of figures which *includes* trisyllabic feet resulting from proper names inverts the order of *Med.* and *Herad.*, *Hec.* and *Suppl.*, *Herc.* and *Tro.*, *I.T.* and *Ion*.

<sup>3</sup> They were rightly left out of consideration by E. C. Yorke, 'Trisyllabic Feet in the Dialogue of Aeschylus', *C.Q.* xxx (1936), pp. 116–19, and by Kitto, op. cit. p. 184, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Zieliński's defence of the inclusion in his statistics of proper names fails to answer any of the above objections (p. 154): 'etsi enim concedendum est nominis proprii inevitabilem usum solvendi necessitatem poetis imposuisse, tamen cur haec solutio cum alia cumularetur nil fuit causae, nisi jam ita assuefactae erant aures solutionibus conduplicatis, ut eas sine molestia ferrent.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. D. Denniston, 'Lyric Iambics in Greek Drama', in *Greek Poetry and Life*, p. 127, where the different rules governing lyric trimeters are

enumerated.

<sup>6</sup> To define more precisely, a resolution is taken as involving a proper name if the proper name occupies either one or two of the last two syllables in a dactyl or tribach, or of the first two syllables in an anapaest: consequently in such a line as γάμοις Ἰάσων βασιλικοῖς εὐνίζεται (*Med.* 18) the resolution is not regarded as involving the name. (It may be remarked that there are three instances in the *Cyclops* (154, 558, 560) of an anapaest in which the only syllable to involve a proper name is one of the first two, but that no such anapaest is found in tragedy proper; there seems to be no instance at all of an anapaest in which only the two short syllables involve a proper name.)

<sup>7</sup> Many of the discrepancies between previous sets of figures were largely due to divergent treatments of the trimeters (real and apparent) which occur in lyric surroundings: as the problem admits so much subjectivity, the only exact method is to give a full list of the lines that are (rightly or wrongly) included here as having been spoken amidst lyrics: *Alc.* 246–7, 251–2, 257–8, 264–5, 404–5; *Med.* 1271–2, 1277–8; *Herad.* 77–9, 84–5, 88–9, 93–4, 97–100, 105–6; *Hippol.* 565–8, 570, 575–6, 581–2, 589–90, 834–5, 856–65, 871–6, 881; *Andr.* 828, 832, 836, 840, 845, 851–2,

(3) Words like *πόλεως*, which are sometimes compressed by synizesis, are considered always to possess their full number of syllables except in the cases where synizesis is needed.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE I  
Totals and proportions of resolved feet in the plays of Euripides<sup>2</sup>

Play	Date of performance if certain (bracketed, if known within approx. limits)	Total of trimeters	Total of resolved feet (proper names excluded)	Proportion of resolved feet to total of trimeters	No. of resolutions involving proper names	Total of all resolved feet (proper names included)	Proportion of all resolved feet (proper names included) to total of trimeters, ex- pressed in percentage	
<i>Cyclops</i>	..	585	205	35.0%	1 in 2:9	39	244	41.7%
<i>Rhesus</i>	..	682	55	8:1	1 in 12:4	9	64	9:4
<i>Alcestis</i>	438	802	50	6:2	1 in 16:0	3	53	6:6
<i>Medea</i>	431	1,037	68	6:6	1 in 15:3	7	75	7:2
<i>Heracles</i>	..	888	51	5:7	1 in 17:4	17	68	7:7
<i>Hippolytus</i>	428	987	42	4:3	1 in 23:5	20	62	6:3
<i>Andromache</i>	..	936	106	11:3	1 in 8:8	44	150	16:0
<i>Heuba</i>	(c. 424)	920	117	12:7	1 in 7:9	64	181	19:7
<i>Supplices</i>	..	915	124	13:6	1 in 7:4	33	157	17:2
<i>Electra</i>	..	960	162	16:9	1 in 5:9	45	207	21:6
<i>Hercules</i>	..	984	212	21:5	1 in 4:6	16	228	23:2
<i>Troades</i>	413	794	168	21:2	1 in 4:7	45	213	26:8
<i>Iphigenia in Tauris</i>	..	1,074	251	23:4	1 in 4:3	65	316	29:4
<i>Ion</i>	..	1,045	270	25:8	1 in 3:9	19	289	27:7
<i>Helēn</i>	412	1,253	345	27:5	1 in 3:6	101	446	35:6
<i>Phoenissae</i>	(411-409)	1,164	300	25:8	1 in 3:9	106	406	34:9
<i>Orestes</i>	408	1,134	447	39:4	1 in 2:5	114	561	49:5
<i>Bacchae</i>	406	918	345	37:6	1 in 2:7	55	400	43:6
<i>Iphigenia in Aulide</i>	(composed 407?)	816	283	34:7	1 in 2:9	71	354	43:4
Total or average		17,894	3,601	20:12%	1 in 4:97	873	4,474	25:00%

The figures in Table I reveal two main trends in Euripides' use of resolution. In the first period, from his earliest extant tragedies to the *Hippolytus* (428 B.C.), there seems to have been a small decrease<sup>3</sup> in the proportion of trisyllabic feet, from well

1184-5, 1203, 1208, 1218, 1221; *Hec.* 688, 693, 698, 701, 709, 713, 1085-6, 1093; *Suppl.* 1009-11, 1073, 1076; *Herc.* 740-1, 747-8, 754-6, 760-2, 816-17, 819, 916, 1039-41, 1179, 1181, 1191, 1195, 1198, 1202; *Ion*, 771-5 (= 4 ll.), 778-81, 785-8, 792-5, 1443-4, 1450-1, 1456-7, 1462, 1468-9, 1473, 1477, 1485, 1488; *Tro.* 235-8, 240, 243, 246, 248, 251, 255, 259, 261, 264, 268, 270, 273, 277, 1218-25, 1232-4, 1240-50; *El.* 866-72, 1165, 1168, 1172-6; *I.T.* 646, 650, 831, 841, 850-1, 855, 863, 866; *Hel.* 625-6, 630-1, 646-7, 652-3, 660, 663, 665, 669, 672, 675, 679, 683, 688; *Phoen.* 106-8, 112-13, 117-18, 123-6, 131, 133-4, 138-40, 150, 154-5, 158-62, 170-4, 179-81, 193-201, 1342-4, 1347-9; *Or.* 1251-2, 1258-60, 1271-2, 1278-80, 1286-7, 1291-2, 1296-8, 1301, 1380, 1393, 1425, 1452, 1473, 1503-5, 1539-40, 1543-4; *Bacch.* 1024-7, 1029-30, 1032-3, 1039-40, 1105-7; *I.A.* 1336-7; *Rhes.* 704-5, 722-3, 736-7, 745-6, 890-4, 904-5. All other trimeters in the lyric sections are ignored.

<sup>1</sup> In *Cycl.* 115 and 231, however, scansion by synizesis has been preferred to the assumption of an anapaest, by satyric licence, in the fourth and third feet respectively.

<sup>2</sup> All figures are based on Murray's Oxford text. *I.A.* 1578-614 and 1621-6, which are

bracketed, are omitted, as well as the fragments of the lost parts of the *Heracles* and *Bacchae*. Lines bracketed as corrupt are uniformly excluded: lines completely obelized are also excluded, except for *Cycl.* 395, 440; *Med.* 738, 741, 910; *Herc.* 396-7, 785; *Hippol.* 468, 952, 1459; *Suppl.* 1089-91; *Herc.* 845, 1417; *Ion*, 2, 828; *Tr.* 862-3; *El.* 546, 939; *Or.* 497; *I.A.* 521, 1022-3. Lines only partly obelized are included, but with the following exceptions, in which the sense or metre seems unsatisfactory: *Med.* 1077; *Herc.* 223, 513, 969; *Suppl.* 1101; *Herc.* 1003, 1159, 1304; *Ion*, 286, 602; *Or.* 1236; *I.A.* 971, 1185, 1207, 1573. Although deficient to the extent of one foot, *Herc.* 710 and *Ion*, 1171 have been retained. The undermentioned common words have been counted as ordinary resolutions (they are printed in the Oxford text as proper names): *Alc.* 24, 844, 1141 θάραρον; *Andr.* 603 φίλον; *Hec.* 345 λέσσον; *Herc.* 615 χθωρία; *Ion*, 1130 γενέτας, 1147 οὐρανός, 1149 ἥλος; *Tro.* 769 θαύάτον; *I.T.* 1161 δύλη; *Hel.* 570 ἐνδοία; *Phoen.* 3 θύε, 532 φιλοτυρία, 536 λαύρητα, 542 λαύρτης; *Bacch.* 1026 δύος.

<sup>3</sup> It has not been previously suggested that in this first period the proportion of trisyllabic feet

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over 6% (or from 8.1%, i.e. 1 in 12.4 lines, if the *Rhesus* is genuine and the earliest play) to 4.3% (1 in 23.5).<sup>1</sup> At this time the average frequency of resolutions was similar to the average of Aeschylus and Sophocles, whose general metrical traditions Euripides at first tended in several respects to follow.<sup>2</sup> In the second,<sup>3</sup> from the *Andromache* (c. 425) to the *Orestes* (408), the proportion increased rapidly from 11.3% (1 in 8.8) to 39.4% (1 in 2.5). The last two plays, the *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulide*, both show a certain falling-off in the frequency. This circumstance may possibly indicate a changed metrical style in the poet's last years (408-406); but the decrease can equally well be assigned to a quite different and special cause, as suggested below. The statistics for the *Cyclops* are given for the sake of comparison; they possess, however, no value in determining its date, since in the satyr-play considerably greater metrical licence was permitted than in tragedy.

The analysis (contained in Table 2) of the comparative frequency of the anapaests, dactyls, and tribachs in the various possible positions in the iambic trimeter yields interesting results. Some of the frequencies remain approximately constant or fluctuate irregularly, but in others definite tendencies<sup>4</sup> can be distinguished. (1) First-foot dactyls do not occur (except for one instance in the *Rhesus* and one in the *Alcestis*)<sup>5</sup> until the beginning of the second period (i.e. in the *Andromache*). From then onwards the proportion of dactyls in the first foot increases with a large degree of regularity. (2) Second-foot tribachs show a general increase, although in several plays the percentages waver in an apparently indeterminate manner: the proportion in the earliest plays, however, is lower (*Med.* 9%, *Hippol.* 7%) and in the latest plays higher (*Or.* 18%, *Bacch.* 20%, *I.A.* 21%) than the average. (3) Third-foot dactyls, which in the early plays usually account for well over 40%<sup>6</sup> of the total of resolved feet, become comparatively less frequent; but the decrease is not very regular. (4) Fifth-foot tribachs do not occur until the beginning of the second period (in the *Andr.*).<sup>7</sup> The evidence of these tendencies often proves of no small value in supplementing and confirming the deductions about the date of a drama's composition drawn from Table 1.

underwent a small but definite decrease, although some writers have implied that it remained approximately static at this time (Descroix, p. 58, cf. Harrison, p. 210). In spite of Hermann's repeated statements (loc. cit.) that the increase in the frequency of resolution did not commence until about Olymp. 89 (424 B.C.), it has usually been assumed that the tendency to increase started from the very beginning of Euripides' dramatic composition: consequently the fact that (for instance) the *Hippolytus* (428) contains a smaller proportion than the *Alcestis* (438) has been sometimes taken, by those who make this incorrect assumption (e.g. by A. S. Owen, *Euripides' Ion*, 1939, p. xxxvi) as a proof that the evidence of resolutions for dating the plays is neither exact nor reliable.

<sup>1</sup> Too much stress should not be laid upon the slight rise in frequency from *Alc.* to *Med.* The decrease was apparently so gradual that small irregularities are not surprising.

<sup>2</sup> Haigh, p. 373, 'Euripides, after beginning his career by the imitation of Sophocles, . . .' (cf. p. 283): Descroix, p. 58, 'dans ses quatre premières tragédies, Euripide se montre le disciple docile de ses illustres devanciers et se

conforme à la tradition métrique'. Both these statements, however, are of too sweeping a character, and need qualification.

<sup>3</sup> Zieliński (p. 140) calls the plays of the first period 'severioris styli'; all the others he divides into three groups, 'semiseveri styli', 'liberi styli', and 'liberrimi styli'. These groups, although perhaps not without usefulness as an indication of the changes in the poet's metrical style, are quite artificial, since his dividing-lines are the arbitrary figures of 15% and 30% respectively of resolutions (according to his statistics).

<sup>4</sup> Some of them were noticed by Zieliński (pp. 144-6), Descroix (pp. 171 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *Rhes.* 804; *Alc.* 802.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Alcestis*, however, third-foot dactyls form merely 32% of the resolutions. The smallness of this figure may just possibly be due to the play's pro-satyric nature (the satyr-play *Cyclops* contains only 23%).

<sup>7</sup> Murray accepts ἀναβαλοῦ (Nauck) for ἀναβαλοῦ (MSS.) in *Alc.* 526, but in *Andr.* 444 retains ἀναπέντε (MSS.) where Nauck proposed ἀναπέντε. In *Hec.* 1281, however, he reads ἀναπέντε (?) against the ἀναπέντε of the MSS.

TABLE 2

*Analysis of comparative frequency of anapaests, dactyls, and tribrachs in the various possible positions in the trimeter. Totals in each play, and the same expressed as percentages of the total of resolved feet in each play. Percentages to nearest integer.*

Play	Total of resolved feet (proper names excluded)	1ST FOOT						2ND FOOT						3RD FOOT						4TH FOOT		5TH FOOT	
		Anapaest			Dactyl			Tribrach			Tribrach			Dactyl			Tribrach			Tribrach		Tribrach	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<i>Cyclops</i>	205 <sup>1</sup>	33	16	14	7	15	7	29	14	47	23	20	10	21	10	5	3	5	3	10	5	2	1
<i>Rhesus</i>	55	3	5	1	2	2	4	3	5	37	67	5	9	4	7	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Alcestis</i>	50	9	18	1	2	6	12	6	12	16	32	9	18	3	6	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Medea</i>	68	3	4	0	..	5	7	6	9	32	47	6	9	16	24	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Heracidae</i>	51	8	16	0	..	3	6	8	16	21	41	3	6	8	16	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Hippolytus</i>	42	2	5	0	..	6	14	3	7	22	52	6	14	3	7	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Andromache</i>	106	8	8	3	3	5	5	20	19	48	45	14	13	17	15	16	14	0	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Hecuba</i>	117	10	9	5	4	6	17	15	46	39	14	13	7	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Supplices</i>	124	19	15	3	2	7	6	16	13	62	50	14	11	3	3	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Electra</i>	162	21	13	10	6	6	4	20	12	72	44	18	11	14	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Hercules</i>	212	24	11	14	7	11	5	31	15	85	40	23	21	21	10	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Troades</i>	168	18	11	15	9	13	8	22	13	70	42	19	11	10	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Iphigenia in Tauris</i>	251	27	11	23	9	12	5	28	11	97	39	37	15	26	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Ion</i>	270	28	10	25	9	19	7	50	19	87	32	34	13	24	9	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Helen</i>	345	28	8	30	9	19	6	44	13	120	35	49	14	48	14	7	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Phoenissae</i>	300	23	8	32	11	20	7	35	12	111	37	35	13	41	14	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Orestes</i>	447	53	12	55	13	23	5	82	18	130	29	49	11	53	13	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Bacchae</i>	345	28	8	37	11	22	6	70	20	101	29	27	8	53	15	7	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Iphigenia in Aulide</i>	283	26	9	40	14	12	4	59	21	72	25	38	13	32	11	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total or average	3,601	371	10.30	308	8.55	212	5.89	549	15.25	1,276	35.43	423	11.75	403	11.19	38	1.06	..	..	..	..	..	..

By itself, of course, the testimony of the frequency of resolution cannot establish the dates of the plays: it can only suggest the order of their composition. The six plays of certain date, however (*Alcestis* 438, *Medea* 431, *Hippolytus* 428, *Troades* 415, *Helen* 412, and *Orestes* 408), act as all-important signposts from which the positions of many of the others may be plotted. Internal evidence<sup>2</sup> is sometimes of great value in fixing the precise date when once the resolutions have indicated the approximate period—value which (it must be stressed) the same evidence would not otherwise possess on account of the large number of alternative dates to which a particular reference in a play may often be referred when there is no definite indication of its period whatsoever.

The dating of the *Rhesus* is complicated by doubts, widely held ever since the Alexandrian age, of the drama's authenticity. There is no need to discuss here the general issues of this disputed problem<sup>3</sup> but it may be pointed out at once that the statistics given above appear to demonstrate that there is no feature in the use of resolution in its iambic trimeters which is alien to Euripides' style, and even that it possesses all the typical characteristics of the poet's first period.<sup>4</sup> This has been

<sup>1</sup> Included in this total, but not shown in the columns of the table, are 21 anapaests admitted by satyrus licence into feet other than the first, i.e. 8 (= 4%) in the second, 1 (= 1%) in the third, 6 (= 3%) in the fourth, and 6 (= 3%) in the fifth: see p. 70, n. 1, above.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'internal evidence', whenever here used, is of course exclusive of the evidence of resolutions in iambic trimeters.

<sup>3</sup> The play's genuineness has been upheld by several scholars: cf. F. Vater, *Vindiciae Rhesi Tragoediae*, 1837; F. A. Paley, *Eur.* i, 1857, p. 7; W. H. Porter, *Rhesus*, 1916, pp. xxxv-lii,

*Hermathena*, xvii (1913), pp. 348-80; W. N. Bates, 'Notes on the *Rhesus*', *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* xlvi (1916), pp. 5-11, *Euripides*, 1930, pp. 189-91.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. C. Rolfe, 'The Tragedy *Rhesus*', *Harvard Studies in Cl. Philol.* iv (1893), p. 91. A similar conclusion was reached by K. Lachmann, *De chorici systematis tragicorum Graecorum*, 1819, p. 116, in regard to the choral odes: 'is poeta, qui Rhesum scripsit, carmina chorica ad eandem plane rationem contexuit, quam Sophocles et Euripides in antiquissimis earum fabularum, quae exstant, secuti sunt.'

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denied, e.g. by Harrison (pp. 209-10), who attempted to show that its metrical style contained several conspicuous peculiarities. His first point is as follows: 'As spondees outnumber iams in the third foot in every tragedy, so, and more so, do dactyls outnumber tribachs in the same place: by 3 to 1 in Aeschylus, 4 to 1 in Sophocles, 3 to 1 in Euripides. The *Rhesus* has no less than 42 dactyls there against 6 tribachs, or 7 to 1.' (The figures 42 and 6 include proper names: when these are omitted, the totals are 37 and 5, i.e. still about 7 to 1—so his statement remains unaffected.) But an equally high ratio of 7 to 1 occurs in the certainly genuine *Heracidae* (21 dactyls, 3 tribachs); and the ratio is not very much less high (5½ to 1) in the *Medea* (32 dactyls, 6 tribachs). The explanation, it seems, is not far to find. Third-foot dactyls were by far the most common form of resolution in the early plays, but their comparative frequency underwent a considerable (although somewhat irregular) diminution: the proportion of third-foot tribachs, however, remained approximately constant: consequently the ratio of dactyls to tribachs in this foot was highest in the earliest plays; and thus the figure of 7 to 1 in the *Rhesus* indicates (if anything) not the play's spuriousness, but its early date. Harrison continues: 'These 42 dactyls, by the way, account for almost two-thirds of the play's 65 trisyllabic feet. In every tragedy the dactyl in the third foot is by far the commonest of all trisyllabic feet, but in no other tragedy does it form so large a proportion of the total.' (If proper names are omitted, the number is 37 out of a total of 55, or 67%.) As has been elsewhere pointed out,<sup>1</sup> this unusually high percentage may be in part attributed to an unusual cause—19 of the 37 third-foot dactyls are due to the words *πόλεμος*, *πολέμως* (in various declined cases). The fact that the plot requires the frequent use of these words, and the lack of a suitable alternative Greek noun to *πόλεμος* perhaps deprived Euripides of freedom in his metrical style almost as much as if the words concerned had been resolution-causing proper names. But quite apart from this consideration, it should not be overlooked that very high percentages of third-foot dactyls occur in some plays of Aeschylus (62% in the *Supplices* and 55% in the *Septem*) and of Sophocles (58% in the *Trachiniae*):<sup>2</sup> in view of Euripides' adherence, in his first period, to many of the general trends of his predecessors' metrical style, the percentage in the *Rhesus* is not, in any case, high enough to render the play suspect. Thirdly, Harrison points out that the frequency of the resolutions (8.1%) in the *Rhesus* lies half-way between that of the early group *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Heracidae*, and *Hippolytus* (from 6.6% to 4.3%) and that of the second period (from 11.3% to 39.4%). 'By this criterion', he concludes, 'it would not seem to be a very early play, certainly not his earliest.'<sup>3</sup> But as the percentage in the first period tended to decrease, the comparatively large proportion in the *Rhesus* would suit it to the beginning of that period.<sup>4</sup> The *Rhesus*, then,

<sup>1</sup> O. Menzer, *De Rheso tragoedia*, Berlin, 1867, p. 30; G. C. Richards, 'The Problem of the *Rhesus*', *C.Q.* x (1916), p. 195, n. 1; Zieliński, p. 142. Menzer (pp. 27-8) gives the total of resolutions in the *Rhesus* accurately; cf. Spengler, *De Rheso tragoedia* (Programm d. Gym. z. Düren, 1857), p. 12, and F. Hagenbach, *De Rheso tragoedia*, Basle, 1863, pp. 26-7.

<sup>2</sup> See Tables 4A and 4B below.

<sup>3</sup> A similar opinion is expressed in 'L'Authenticité du "Rhésus" d'Euripide', *Antiquité Classique*, ii (1933), p. 109, by H. Grégoire, who wishes to assign the play to 424; cf. R. Goossens, 'La date du Rhésos', *Ant. Class.* i (1932), pp. 93-134.

<sup>4</sup> The placing of the *Rhesus* at the beginning of the first period involves the assumption that the above-mentioned tendency to decrease was already in operation before the earliest dated play in the period (i.e. *Alc.*): such an assumption, however, seems quite reasonable. There is nothing in the bare proportion of resolutions (8.1%) itself to prevent the *Rhesus* being placed between the *Hippolytus* (4.3%) and the *Andromache* (11.3%). But Table 2 shows that it contains the lowest proportion (5%) of second-foot tribachs and the highest (67%) of third-foot dactyls (as already mentioned)—both strong indications that the *Rhesus* may be the earliest play.

if genuine, may be the earliest extant tragedy of Euripides,<sup>1</sup> possibly several years anterior to the *Alcestis* (438).<sup>2</sup> Exact dating seems out of the question, but 465, the suggestion of Hartung,<sup>3</sup> is rather too early to be plausible. G. C. Richards, without committing himself on the problem of authenticity, proposed *circa* 440 on various grounds, one of them being alleged similarities to Sophocles' *Ajax*: some of these parallels may be deserving of attention, but his endeavour to show a special similarity between the two dramas in the use of resolution is worthless.<sup>4</sup>

The *Heracidae*, with 5.7% of resolutions, appears to have been composed between the *Medea* (431) with 6.6% and the *Hippolytus* (428) with 4.3%, but closer to the former than to the latter, i.e. in 431-430 more probably than in 430-429. The earlier date is perhaps confirmed by the fact<sup>5</sup> that it shares with the *Medea* a considerable prevalence of fourth-foot tribrachs over third-foot tribrachs, an irregularity not elsewhere found in Euripides except in the small and late group of the *Phoenissae*, *Orestes*, and *Bacchae*. From the internal evidence Wilamowitz<sup>6</sup> suggested 429-427, of which only 429 seems admissible: but from the same evidence Grace H. Macurdy<sup>7</sup> deduced 431-430 as the time of composition and 430 as the date of performance; and the metrical evidence supports this well.

The *Andromache* has been assigned by different scholars to almost every period of Euripides' composition: but the scholium on l. 445 states, presumably with some authority, *φαίνεται δὲ γεγραμμένον τὸ δράμα ἐν ἀρχαῖς τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου*, on which Wilamowitz<sup>8</sup> commented, 'tempus rectius quam plerique recentiorum definivit vetus grammaticus; nam numeri fabulam annis 430-24 adtribuunt, neque historia obstat'. Support for the scholium is provided by the resolution-figures. The proportion in the *Andromache*, 11.3%, comes between that of the *Hippolytus*, 4.3%, and the 12.7% of the *Hecuba* (424 B.C.),<sup>9</sup> and is so close to the latter that there is ground for thinking that the play was acted in 425 and composed not long before (e.g. 426-425): such a period has been proposed by L. Méridier<sup>10</sup> and H. J. Rose.<sup>11</sup> This com-

<sup>1</sup> It is not always fully realized that, if the *Rhesus* is genuine, many of the peculiarities which are commonly considered proofs of its spuriousness may be in fact indications of its early composition at a time when Euripides' style combined experimental innovations with close imitation of his predecessors. See schol. on *Rhes.* 528. The extent of this imitation in certain respects was noticed by the writer of the *Ἄρδεων*, who mentions a Σοφόκλεος χαρακτήρ in the play.

<sup>2</sup> The same conclusion was reached (p. 152) by Zieliński, who assigned the play to 442 (p. 238).

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus*, 1843, vol. i, pp. 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> *C.Q.* x, p. 195: 'if there are any two plays which from metrical considerations we can put closely together in time', he wrote, 'it is surely these.' Even if there were the smallest evidence of a special metrical similarity (and there is not, cf. *Rhes.* in Table 2 with *Ajax* in Table 4B), it would not necessarily prove the two dramas to have been contemporary, since, however faithfully Euripides in his early tragedies may have followed many of Sophocles' metrical traditions, it is extremely improbable that at any one time their styles were identical.

<sup>5</sup> This fact and the internal evidence dispose of the possibility admitted by the frequency of resolutions (5.7%) that the drama was composed between *Hippol.* (4.3%) and *Andr.* (11.3%), although it must be conceded that the figures in Table 2 for second-foot tribrachs and third-foot dactyls might be slightly more suitable to the later date.

<sup>6</sup> *Analecta Euripidea*, 1875, p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> *The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides*, 1905, p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit., p. 148. In a later work, *Herakles*, i<sup>2</sup> (1895), p. 143 (i<sup>1</sup>, p. 348), he grouped the *Andr.* with the first period in the order *Alc.*, *Med.*, *Hippol.*, *Andr.*, *Herac.*, all of which he dated before 425. But in metrical style at least it is clearly very different from the plays of the first period, and is two or three years later than the latest of them.

<sup>9</sup> If the *Hec.* was acted in 425, the *Andr.* should be placed in 426.

<sup>10</sup> *Eur.*, Budé ed., vol. ii, 1927, p. 106: 'On sera donc conduit à le placer avant l'été de 424' and 'nous serions tenté de dire qu'*Andromaque* a dû être jouée entre 427 et 425'.

<sup>11</sup> *Handbook of Gk. Lit.*, p. 185: 'not long after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, perhaps not far from 425.'

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paratively early date was criticized by Macurdy (p. 75): 'the *Andromache* has one line (which Wilamowitz rejects) with three resolutions, line 333: *Μενέλαε, φέρε δὴ διαπεράνω μεν λόγους*. This combination of anapaest, tribrach, and dactyl appears only in the later dramas, and there are but ten instances of it. The play contains also a line with two tribrachs and one with two dactyls (lines 40, 1157), cases of which, as Rumpel says, appear almost exclusively in the later plays.' But these objections carry little weight. In the first line quoted, *Μενέλαε* should be left out of consideration as a proper name: in l. 40, *πατήρ τε θυγατρὶ Μενέλεως συνδρᾶ τάδε*, the same applies to *Μενέλεως*, but even had this proper name been an ordinary word there would have been nothing strange in the occurrence of a line of such form in 425—compare the exactly similar example in the *Alcestis* (l. 159) composed thirteen years previously: *ἡκουσαν ὑδασ ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα*. Other lines containing two tribrachs from plays earlier than the *Andromache* are *Med.* 324, *Heracl.* 70. The *Alcestis*, too, provides a trimeter (l. 802) with two dactyls in the same positions as in *Andr.* 1157. Nor are there any factors in the internal evidence opposed to the year 425. The conjecture of D. S. Robertson<sup>1</sup> that the *Andromache* was written for the young Molossian king Tharyps<sup>2</sup> (who received his education at Athens) appears attractive: his own conclusion is that it was composed about 418–17 on Tharyps' return home from Athens, but such a date clashes with the evidence of the metrical criterion. As a slight modification of this theory, it may be supposed with Pohlenz that the drama was composed in honour<sup>3</sup> of Tharyps' arrival in Athens two or three years after 429. Arguing for the year 423 Pohlenz writes,<sup>4</sup> 'Wir müssen also ein paar Jahre herabgehen, in die Zeit, wo offenbar eine Schwenkung in der Politik der Molosser eingetreten war und Tharyps, 429 nach Thukydides noch Knabe, *Athenas erudiendi gratia missus est* (Justin XVII 3, 11)'—considerations which would be suited equally well or better by 425.

Internal evidence fixes the date of the *Hecuba* as after 426 (the purification of Delos held in that year in all likelihood prompted ll. 455 ff.) and before 423 (when Aristophanes in *Nubes* 701 and 1148 parodied *Hec.* 162 and 173 respectively), i.e. it was performed in either 425 or 424. The latter date seems more probable, for whereas the purification might be clearly remembered for several years, the audience of the *Nubes* would recall a play of the previous year more easily than one exhibited two years before: in fact, 424 is almost certain if, as K. O. Müller<sup>5</sup> first suggested, *Hec.* 650–1 hints at the Spartan disaster at Pylos in the autumn of 425.<sup>6</sup>

After the 12.7% of resolutions in the *Hecuba*, the 13.6% in the *Supplices* follows so closely that the next year, 424–423, appears to be indicated as its time of composition.<sup>7</sup> This date<sup>8</sup> well tallies with the chief feature<sup>9</sup> of the internal evidence, the

<sup>1</sup> 'Euripides and Tharyps', *C.R.* xxxvii (1923), pp. 58–60: cf. C. Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte*, 1911, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. ii. 80 Θάρυψος τοῦ βασιλέως ἦτι παιδὸς ὄντος.

<sup>3</sup> Even if the play was produced at Argos (cf. Bergk, *Hermetes*, xviii (1883), pp. 487–510, and D. L. Page, 'The Elegiacs in Euripides' *Andromache*', in *Greek Poetry and Life*, 1936, pp. 223–30), Tharyps' arrival in Athens might well have suggested the subject of the drama.

<sup>4</sup> *Die griechische Tragödie*, 1930, ii, p. 84 (note on i, p. 304). Cf. also Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*, 1939, p. 235, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der gr. Litt.*, 4th ed. 1882, i, p. 605, n. 2 (English trans., 1840, p. 369, n. 1; 1858, i, p. 486 n.).

<sup>6</sup> Another consideration is that, if the *Hec.* belongs to 425 instead of to 424, the *Andr.* presumably must be placed in 426, which allows a year less for the remarkable change in the poet's metrical style between the *Hippol.* and the *Andr.*

<sup>7</sup> As regards metre, 422 and even 421 cannot be excluded as possible alternatives, although they are less likely.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. K. O. Müller, *G.g.L.*<sup>4</sup>, i, p. 608, (Eng. trans., 1840, p. 371; 1858, i, p. 489), and Croiset, *Hist. de la litt. gr.*<sup>3</sup> iii, p. 319. H. Grégoire, *Eur.*, Budé ed., vol. iii, 1923, pp. 97–8, advocates 422 but admits that 423 would suit as well.

<sup>9</sup> But cf. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*, p. 225: 'the theme demanded that Creon should turn the potential sacrifice into a real one, a point to

reference to the refusal of the Boeotians to surrender the Athenian dead after the battle of Delium<sup>1</sup> (424): mentions of Argos, however, have caused the composition of the *Supplices* to be ascribed to the period of the Peace of Nicias (421), and its performance, consequently, to be relegated by some scholars to the following year, 420. But such a late dating is not so well suited to its metrical style, or even its general style, as Murray<sup>2</sup> has stressed: 'actam esse circa tempora Niciana pacis (A.C. 421) fortasse arguit historia: scriptam magna ex parte aliquot ante annos mihi persuadet stylus.' If, then, the references to Argos are not considered to possess any historical significance, the drama's performance may most naturally be assigned to 423: if, however, allusions to the Peace are assumed, its performance may belong to 421 or 420, but the greater part of its composition can still be dated 424-423.

After the *Supplices* (13·6%), the next play of certain date is the *Troades* (415) with 21·2% of resolutions: between these two comes the 16·9% of the *Electra*. According to the metrical criterion, therefore, the *Electra* was composed after 423, but not later than 416; and the period might be more precisely estimated as approximately half-way between these limits, since its proportion of resolutions lies nearly midway between the percentages of its neighbours. Support for this date of the play's composition, which is earlier than that commonly assumed, may be drawn from the analysis of comparative frequencies in the different positions (given in Table 2). Firstly there is the evidence of the first-foot dactyls, the percentage of which increased with a large degree of regularity: the 6% in *El.* is a little smaller than the 7% of *Herc.*, and is markedly less<sup>3</sup> than the percentage in any of the later dramas, which increases from 9% in *Tro.*, *I.T.*, *Ion*, and *Hel.* to a maximum of 14% in the last play, the *I.A.*. Secondly, the figures for third-foot dactyls, the proportion of which decreased with fair regularity, suit<sup>4</sup> the placing of *El.*, with 44%, after *Suppl.*, with 50%, and before *Herc.*, with 40%. The *Electra*'s 44% would be out of position among the later plays,<sup>5</sup> where the frequency drops from 42% in *Tro.* and 39% in *I.T.* to 25% in *I.A.* Zirndorfer,<sup>6</sup> who reached a similar opinion concerning the time of its composition, assumed that it was performed in 418, soon after it had been completed. This dating would probably have been generally followed were it not for an important passage in the epilogue<sup>7</sup> (1347 ff.) which seems indisputably to refer to some period of the great Sicilian expedition (415-413):

νῶ δ' ἐπὶ πόντον Σικελὸν σπουδῆ  
σώσοντε νεῶν πρώτας ἐνάλους.  
διὰ δ' αἰθερίας στείχοντε πλακός  
τοῖς μὲν μυσαροῖς οὐκ ἐπαργύομεν,

remember when one is considering whether the play reflects the refusal of the Thebans to restore the Athenian dead after Delium. . . . If there were no dramatic reason for their refusal to yield here, the inference that Euripides was thinking of Delium would be irresistible; as there is such a reason Delium may be coincidence.' But Kitto suggests that ll. 738 ff. may be an allusion to the Athenian rejection of the terms offered by Sparta in 425.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thuc. iv. 97-9.

<sup>2</sup> Oxford text, vol. ii, introd. to *Suppl.*

<sup>3</sup> A point noticed by Descroix (p. 171), who concludes, 'nous inclinons donc à croire que la composition, sinon la représentation d'*El.*, est antérieure de plusieurs années à la date de 413' (cf. p. 58).

<sup>4</sup> The earlier periods which the same percentage of third-foot dactyls in *El.* could also suit (cf. Table 2) are clearly inadmissible.

<sup>5</sup> In view of the above figures, Murray's statement (Oxford text, vol. ii, introd. to *El.*), 'post Troadas (A.C. 415) eam numeri et stilus ponunt', is rather strange—at least as far as the iambic trimeters are concerned.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., p. 68. In the words *μυσαροῖς* and *ηγδ' ἐπόρκων μέτα* (1350, 1355) he found aspersions on Alcibiades' perfidy in 419 (Thuc. v. 56 'Ἀλκιβιάδου πελούρος . . . ὥρκοις').

<sup>7</sup> According to Nauck, *Eur.* 1889, i, p. lxxv, the whole epilogue (1233-1359) is spurious: if this is so, Zirndorfer's date for the play's performance may be correct; but the passage is usually considered genuine.

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οἶσιν δ' ὅσιον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον  
φίλον ἐν βιότῳ, τούτους χαλεπῶν  
ἐκλίνοντες μάχθων σώζομεν.

The first two lines are open to either of two interpretations. The former is the more usual version: 'but we (will go) across the Sicilian sea in haste to save the sea-borne ships' prows.' Such a meaning can refer only to the dangerous situation in which the expedition found itself early in 413. The second translation is somewhat more idiomatic (although not so commonly found): 'but we (will go) to bring in safety (*σώσοντες*) the sea-borne ships to the Sicilian sea in haste.' For *σώζειν* *ἐπί* or *ἐσ* in the sense 'to bring safely to', cf. L. and S. *σώζω* ii. 2, and especially *ἡν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν* (Xen. *An.* vi. 5. 20), 'even if we are brought safely to the sea'. That *ἐπί Σ. πόντον* here means 'to the Sicilian sea' rather than 'across the S. sea' (as generally required in the former version) is strongly supported by Eur. *Cycl.* 702-3:

καὶ νεῦσ σκάφος  
ἥσω 'πὶ πόντον Σικελὸν ἐσ τ' ἐμὴν πάτραν

'and I will launch forth my ship to the Sicilian sea and to my homeland'. This rendering apparently involves the *sailing* of a fleet from Athens.<sup>1</sup> The departure in 415 of the Sicilian expedition would have been a probable subject for the allusion, and K. O. Müller<sup>2</sup> seems to have favoured assigning the play to the spring of that year; but it is known on the explicit authority of Aelian<sup>3</sup> that in 415 Euripides exhibited the *Alexander*, *Palamedes*, *Troades*, and *Sisyphus*.<sup>4</sup> The previous year, 416, would hardly be a suitable alternative, since, although the proposal to send an expedition to Sicily aroused great excitement in Athens at that time, a decision on the subject had not yet been reached, nor had a fleet been assembled. It might be conjectured that the *πρῷραι ἔναλοι* were the ships of the Athenian envoys sent to Egesta<sup>5</sup> in 416, whose eagerly awaited report was partly responsible for the vote in favour of the expedition; but this is far from likely. The reference may therefore apply to the sailing of the relief expedition under Demosthenes,<sup>6</sup> which it was essential should reach Sicily safely (cf. *σώσοντες*) with all possible speed (*οπούδην*) to reinforce the original expedition. Thus both translations of ll. 1347-8 are capable of being interpreted as assigning the *performance* of the *Electra* to 413; and this is the dating very commonly accepted by scholars, many of whom in consequence not unnaturally assume that the play was written not long before.<sup>7</sup> But exponents of this date of composition find difficulty in accounting for the drama's small proportion of trisyllabic feet, since not 16·9% but rather about 25% was to be expected from the poet's use of resolution at that time. Macurdy<sup>8</sup> explains: 'The fact that this play as compared with the other plays of its period shows something of restraint in its verbal

<sup>1</sup> Paley, *Eur.* ii. p. 387 (n. on *El.* 1347); 'the words could only apply to the sailing out of the expedition.'

<sup>2</sup> *G.g.L.*<sup>4</sup> i, p. 614, n. 1 (Eng. trans., 1840, p. 374; 1858, i, p. 493): he states that the passage 'clearly refers to the fleet which sailed from Athens to Sicily' in 415.

<sup>3</sup> Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> By this period, however, tragedy was performed at the Lenaea also, at which Agathon had gained his first victory in 416; cf. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, 3rd ed., 1907, pp. 25-6. Eur. might have competed at both festivals in 415.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. vi. 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. Parmentier, *Eur.*, Budé ed., vol. iv,

1925, p. 189: 'l'allusion doit donc viser la grande flotte de secours envoyée à Nicias en l'année 413.'

<sup>7</sup> Lines 1280-3 have often been urged in vindication of this date, as being a preparation for the *Helen* in 412, the following year. But (as pointed out by S. A. Naber, 'Euripidea', *Mnemosyne*, Nova Series, x (1882), p. 271) this assumption is not *necessarily* valid, since the alternative version of the legend of Helen was known ever since Stesichorus' recantation, and was in common circulation; cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 243 a.

<sup>8</sup> pp. 110-11: cf. also Bergk, *Gr. Lit.*, vol. iii (1884), p. 553 n.; 'der Dichter auf die *Elektra* mehr Sorgfalt verwendet hat.'

and metrical style may be due to the conscious emulation of Euripides in writing on the theme recently handled by Sophocles.' This argument fails to convince, as it overlooks the important consideration that the changes in Euripides' metrical style were largely subconscious. Even if he had made a conscious effort to show 'something of restraint' in the *Electra* (and it is difficult to discover what really cogent reasons he might have had for making such an effort), it appears unlikely that his subconscious metrical tendencies would have undergone any modification.<sup>1</sup> But although conscious variations may be rejected without much hesitation, the 'natural [i.e. accidental or 'inevitable'] variations in the poet's manner' which are assumed by Haigh<sup>2</sup> and others to account for the rarity of resolutions deserve more attention. There is nothing fundamentally improbable in the supposition that certain adventitious fluctuations occurred in Euripides' employment of resolution—and a fluctuation may have taken place in this play just as well as in any other. An accidental variation, however, would scarcely be expected to cause such a wide deviation as is here encountered. It is therefore on the whole preferable to conclude that the *Electra* was written in 419-418<sup>3</sup> (a period which, as already shown, has the support of the figures in Table 2), but for some reason was not performed until 413 (when this passage was added to the epilogue): yet at the same time the possibility that its composition was only a little anterior to its presentation (the small resolution-frequency being due to an accidental variation) cannot be ignored.

The almost identical resolution-frequencies in the *Troades* (21.2%) and *Hercules* (21.5%) permit the conjecture that both were written at about the same time, in 416. The *Troades* was not exhibited (together with the three other plays already mentioned) until 415, but there is nothing to prevent the assumption that the *Hercules* was performed in the same year in which it seems to have been written, 416.<sup>4</sup> The usual dating of the *Hercules* is about 422,<sup>5</sup> but this hardly suits the drama's general style, which, according to Wilamowitz,<sup>6</sup> places it between the *Supplices* (dated by him 421 or 422) and the *Troades*. Nearer the date suggested by the metre is Macurdy (p. 61) with the limits 420-418, and 416 was actually proposed by Haigh (*Tragic Drama*, p. 300). The internal evidence is particularly inconclusive, but, if the ode on old age (637 ff.) in any way reflects the poet's personal feelings, it would be considerably more appropriate in 416 than in 422.

After the 21.2% of resolutions in the *Troades* follows 23.4% in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*; thus the usually assumed date of 414 is probably correct.<sup>8</sup> Wilamowitz must have been under a complete misapprehension about the proportion of resolved feet when he wrote:<sup>9</sup> 'ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ (ἢ τὸ Ταύρων). 411-9.... at anno 414 cui Zirndorferus eam dedit, numeri neglegentissimi non convenienti.'

Between the *I.T.* with its 23.4% and the *Helen* (412) with 27.5% falls the *Ion* with 25.8%: there is thus reason to suppose that it was acted in 413.<sup>10</sup> Many scholars of the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. de Groot, *A Handbook of Antique Prose-Rhythm*, 1919, p. 102: 'metrical tendencies are partly unconscious, partly conscious. . . . As far as they are conscious, it is doubtful whether the artist was able to formulate them himself.'

<sup>2</sup> *Tragic Drama*, p. 301 n. Zieliński (p. 141), too, assumed an accidental metrical 'recession' to account for the case of the *El.*

<sup>3</sup> In spite of this early date of composition it is still quite possible that the *Electra* of Sophocles preceded it.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the 21.5% of *Herc.* is slightly in excess of the 21.2% of *Tro.* is without special significance: the cause may be a very small

'accidental' variation; but it is possible that the greater part of *Tro.* was composed somewhat before *Herc.* (although not performed until after it). On the other hand, cf. p. 77, n. 4, above.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. K. O. Müller, *G.g.L.* 4<sup>1</sup>, p. 610 (Eng. trans., 1840, p. 372; 1858, i, p. 490).

<sup>6</sup> *Herakles*, ii, p. 135 (cf. *Herakles*, i<sup>1</sup>, p. 349).

<sup>7</sup> He proposed 421 in *Analecta Eur.*, 1875, p. 153, but gave 422 as an alternative in *Der Mütter Bittgang (Hiketides)*, 1869, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Macurdy, pp. 95-107, who gives the internal and other evidence confirming this date.

<sup>9</sup> *Analecta Eur.*, p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> The statistics in Table 2 for first-foot dactyls

early nineteenth century would have been amazed at such a dating, as they believed the drama to have been at least a decade earlier.<sup>1</sup> But since then the lateness of the *Ion* has been more and more widely realized. Wilamowitz<sup>2</sup> gave the outer limits of its composition as 420–412, and actually mentioned 413 as a possible date;<sup>3</sup> in his edition of the *Ion*,<sup>4</sup> he lowered the *terminus post quem* to 415. 416–412 were given as 'fairly certain' limits by Ermatinger.<sup>5</sup> L. Enthoven,<sup>6</sup> having traced a parody of the play in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*<sup>7</sup> (411) and parallel phrases in the *Helen*, assigned it to 412. The same evidence would suit the year 413 also. Haigh (*Tragic Drama*, p. 304) went too far when he proposed 410, since reasons put forward by Macurdy (pp. 89, 87) indicate that it was written before the defection, from 412 onwards, of the Aegean allies of Athens (cf. 1582 ff.) and before the *Helen*:<sup>8</sup> but Haigh's arguments in favour of 410 apply equally well to 413. Further support for the date 413 is supplied by Macurdy (p. 87): 'The *āvaywápos* in the *Ion* is similar to that in the *Iphigenia* [in Tauris] both in metre and method. The recognition-scene in the *Helen* closely resembles that of the *Iphigenia*. Masqueray points out<sup>9</sup> that these three sets of *āpoúbaia* are unique in their construction.' It seems not unjustifiable to assume that the three plays embodying this peculiar feature were composed within the same short period, and that the *Ion* should therefore be placed between the *I.T.* (414) and *Helen* (412).

The *Phoenissae* (performed after 412 and before 408, according to the schol. on Ar. *Ranae*, 53) contains a proportion of resolutions of merely 25·8% (identical with that of the *Ion*), although the *Helen*, known to have been acted previously, possesses 27·5%. The decline may be explained in more than one way. An accidental variation in metrical style might be here postulated, just as it has been postulated by some scholars in the *Electra*. Alternatively, it may be assumed that the *Phoenissae* was written at about the same time as the *Ion*, in 413, but not acted until two or three years later.<sup>10</sup> In a period when Euripides' dramatic powers seem to have been even more fertile than previously in spite of his age, his output of dramas may have exceeded his opportunities of staging them, and delay in presentation would naturally ensue; there is also no reason for believing that he had his plays performed in exactly the same order in which he wrote them. A third possibility, which commands equal consideration, is that in the *Phoenissae*, as in the *I.A.* (see below), the resolution-frequency has been lowered by the later addition of lines by another hand. On the suspected interpolations in the drama, see J. U. Powell's edition.<sup>11</sup> In view of the difficulty of choosing between these hypotheses, it is not possible with any accuracy

do not favour either an earlier or later date; the proportion of third-foot dactyls is smaller than might be expected, but this very fact may be taken as a slight piece of evidence against any earlier dating.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. A. Boeckh, *Gr. Trag. Princ.*, 1808, p. 191, gave 427; J. G. Hermann, *Ion*, 1827, p. xxxii, *circa* 424–421; Hartung, op. cit., vol. i, p. 451, Olymp. 88, 2, i.e. 427; T. Fix, *Eur.* (Didot ed.), 1840, p. x, Olymp. 90, i.e. *circa* 420; Bayfield, 1891, p. x, 'the commonly assigned date is accordingly about B.C. 425'.

<sup>2</sup> *Analecta Eur.*, p. 154; *Herakles*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> 'Die beiden Elekten', *Hermes*, xviii (1883), p. 242, n. 1: 'will man also die letzte Möglichkeit, so rücke man Ion zu Elektra 413.'

<sup>4</sup> *Eur. Ion*, 1926, p. 24: cf. also Kranz, *De forma stasimi* (Diss. Berol.), 1912, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Die attische Autochthonensage*, Berlin, 1897,

pp. 138–9.

<sup>6</sup> *De Ione fabula Euripidea quaestiones selectae*, Bonn, 1880, pp. 7–19.

<sup>7</sup> *Lys.* 909–13.

<sup>8</sup> *Helen*, 243–4, it is suggested, is a reminiscence of *Ion*, 887–90.

<sup>9</sup> *Théorie des formes lyriques de la tragédie grecque*, 1895, p. 257.

<sup>10</sup> The figures for *Phoen.* in Table 2, however, lend this suggestion no support, and the proportion of first-foot dactyls weighs against it.

<sup>11</sup> *Phoenissae of Eur.*, 1911, pp. 7–32; p. 7, 'We have seen that the *ōnōθeis* complains that it is "padded" (*παραπληρωματικόν*). The suspected places, apart from single lines, are . . . (1) 88–201 (Schrader, Verrall). (2) 1104–1141 (Wecklein). (3) 1221–1263 (Paley). (Add 1264–1282, Paley and Verrall.)'

to ascertain the period of the play's composition from the metrical evidence, or to assign its production to any particular year within the already known limits of 412 and 408.<sup>1</sup>

The *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulide* were first put on the stage in 406 by Euripides the younger. The internal evidence of each supports the conjecture that both were written in Macedonia, where the poet spent the last two years of his life, having left Athens, it may be concluded, soon after the production of the *Orestes* in 408. The commonly accepted date of their composition, 407, cannot therefore be very far from the truth. Both dramas show a slight falling-off in the frequency of resolution—from 39.4% in the *Orestes* to 37.6% in the *Bacchae* and to 34.7% in the *I.A.* It is conceivable that a semi-conscious change of style resulted from the different conditions in Macedonia, or that an accidental fluctuation in resolution-frequency occurred at this period: it is more likely, however, that the decline in each case reflects the number of lines inserted in the plays by Euripides the younger, or (more probably) by later interpolators. These added lines appear to have contained considerably fewer resolved feet,<sup>2</sup> and their inclusion in consequence lowered the average of resolutions for the whole plays.<sup>3</sup> The small decline in the *Bacch.* may indicate that a few such lines, but only a few, were inserted:<sup>4</sup> the larger decrease in the *I.A.* strengthens the accepted opinion that the later additions to it are quite extensive. The analysis (given in Table 3) of the frequency of resolution in the separate dialogue-scenes in the *I.A.* provides evidence concerning the later additions which coincides to a large extent with the results reached by various scholars from investigations of other aspects of the play's composition, e.g. diction, content, and dramatic style.

But for the later interpolations, both the *Bacch.* and *I.A.*, it may be conjectured, would have contained a frequency of resolutions greater than the 39% in the *Or.* The average of about 42% (with only small variations on either side) in the four long scenes 607-750, 917-1035, 1098-275, and 1402-73 in the *I.A.* appears to confirm this point and to indicate almost complete freedom from interpolated lines in these passages: the figures 31.9% in 402-542 and 27.8% in 801-54 suggest that in both these scenes the percentage of about 42% in the genuine parts has been lowered by the subsequent addition of a certain number of lines containing few resolutions. The

<sup>1</sup> The section of the dialogue between Jocasta and Polynices which refers to the latter's return from exile (387-99) has been interpreted as referring to Alcibiades' return to Athens in 411 (Thuc. viii. 81, 97) by Zirndorfer (pp. 82-3), who accordingly gives 410 as the date of performance—a suggestion approved by J. G. Hermann, *Phoenissae*, 1840, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence serving to justify this conclusion is afforded by an examination of the lines in the Oxford text which are bracketed as interpolations. In the 90 lines so bracketed in the last five plays (*Hel.*, *Phoen.*, *Or.*, *Bacch.*, *I.A.*) there are only 18 resolutions, or 20%, compared with an average of 32.5% in the genuine lines (1,720 res. in 5,285 trimeters, cf. Table 1). The rarity of resolutions in the interpolated lines was probably greater even than appears, as a large proportion of the 20% may be attributed to the resolutions occurring in the not negligible number of genuine lines which must inevitably have been wrongly bracketed. For all the plays, the figures are

27 res. (also 12 others involving proper names) in 168 bracketed lines, or 16.1%, compared with the general average of 20.12% in the genuine lines. Again, resolutions in lines wrongly suspected are doubtless responsible for a considerable part of the 16.1%.

<sup>3</sup> If this explanation is the correct one, the figures for *Bacch.* and *I.A.* in Table 2 confirm that the lines subsequently added contained very few resolutions: except for a small diminution in the frequency of first-foot dactyls in *Bacch.*, the tendencies of the first-foot and third-foot dactyls continue regularly, which would hardly be the case if *large* numbers of trisyllabic feet, used by a different poet in different positions, had been admixed.

4 Cf. R. Cantarella, 'L'influsso degli attori sulla tradizione dei testi tragici', *Rivista Greco-Italica di Fil., Ling., Ant.*, xiv (1930), p. 203 [Fasc. iii-iv, p. 67], 'La tragedia [mito di *Eacchae*] ebbe certamente a subire dei mutamenti, che oggi però è molto difficile definire'.

TABLE 3  
Analysis of frequency of resolution in separate iambic passages in the I.A.

Iambic passages	Total of trimeters	Resolutions (proper names excluded)	Percentage of resolutions to total of trimeters	Same expressed in ratio
49-114	55	9	16.4%	1 in 6.1
303-16	14	2	14.3	1 in 7.0
402-542	141	45	31.9	1 in 3.1
607-750	139	57	41.0	1 in 2.4
801-54	54	15	27.8	1 in 3.6
917-1035	118	47	39.8	1 in 2.5
1098-275	175	74	42.3	1 in 2.4
1402-73	71	31	43.7	1 in 2.3
1532-77	45	3	6.7	1 in 15.0
Total	816 <sup>1</sup>	283	—	—

genuineness of the iambic prologue (49-114) has been upheld by J. H. Bremi,<sup>2</sup> followed by several scholars and most recently by D. L. Page, who writes<sup>3</sup> with reference to these lines, 'there is obviously no good ground for denying their authenticity as a whole as far as v. 106': but the proportion of resolutions therein is so small (16.4%)<sup>4</sup> that the passage might justly be suspected of having been added by a later hand—a conclusion reached on general grounds by H. J. Rose (p. 195, n. 40); 'a second prologue, in iambics, I take to be a feeble imitation of Euripides at his worst by some later writer': the writer in question was Euripides the younger, in the opinion of Wilhelm Dindorf,<sup>5</sup> who believed certain points of diction betrayed a period later than that of Euripides himself. Only two resolutions occur in 303-16, whereas thrice that number might have been expected. Some interpolation may thus be lurking here; but in such a short passage the smallness of the number could well be fortuitous on account of the natural variations in the distances between resolved feet.<sup>6</sup> There can be little doubt, however, concerning 1532-77. There are only three resolutions in these forty-five lines (6.7%), a fact which, as pointed out by H. Hennig,<sup>7</sup> provides very good cause for regarding them as later additions, although in fact the first part at least of this epilogue appears on other grounds unexceptionable.

The great majority of trimeters which contain any resolution have no more than one trisyllabic foot each. Instances of lines containing two resolved feet<sup>8</sup> are very

<sup>1</sup> Included in this total are ll. 376-7 and 1336-7, in which no resolutions occur.

<sup>2</sup> *Philologische Beiträge*, Zürich, 1819, pp. 143-55.

<sup>3</sup> *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy*, 1934, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> The possibility that the infrequency of the resolutions in these scenes is due to conscious changes of style (cf. *supra*, p. 67, n. 5) or to accidental variations should not be overlooked; but interpolation seems the more likely explanation.

<sup>5</sup> *Eur.*, vol. iii, 1839, pp. 440-1, n. c: 'Itaque sic statuendum censemus. Euripiderum duas elaboratas quidem, sed non coamentatas, reliquies exordii partes, alteram v. 1-48. complexam, alteram 117-163. quae ut inter se cohaerent, ab alio poeta, sive is Euripides minor sive aliis fuit, inserti sunt v. 49-116.'; *Poetae Scenici Gr.*, 5th ed., 1869, *Eur.*, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> It must be stressed, however, that the variations are only noticeable when individual short passages are examined. When large numbers of resolved feet in a single play are considered *en bloc*, they present an aspect of great regularity. Thus if the resolutions in most of the plays were counted by successive periods of ten lines, the totals would vary widely; but if they were counted by periods of a hundred lines, the results for each hundred lines would usually be fairly constant.

<sup>7</sup> *De Iphigeniae Aulidensis forma ac condicione*, Berlin, 1870, pp. 176-7.

<sup>8</sup> Examples of such lines, with the two resolutions in various possible positions, are given by A. Taccone, 'Il trimetro giambico nella poesia greca', *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Serie IIa, liv (1904), pp. 48-93.

rare in the early plays, but later become much more frequent. The totals are as follows:<sup>1</sup> *Cycl.* 21: *Rhes.* 1, *Alc.* 3, *Med.* 3, *Heracl.* 1, *Hippol.* 2, *Andr.* 5, *Hec.* 4, *Suppl.* 2, *El.* 7, *Herc.* 16, *Tro.* 16, *I.T.* 17, *Ion* 14, *Hel.* 26, *Phoen.* 25, *Or.* 54, *Bacch.* 45, *I.A.* 23.<sup>2</sup> The increase is parallel to the increase of the total of all resolutions, and considerably accentuated in comparison, but it is not surprising in view of the smallness of the figures that there happen to be one or two unimportant deviations from the expected order. Fourteen examples are found of trimeters possessing three resolutions, and seven of the fourteen occur in the *Orestes* (248, 310, 547, 597, 643, 1228, and 1603): five other late plays have one instance each (*El.* 61, *I.T.* 1392, *Ion* 1143, *Phoen.* 584, and *I.A.* 466): the *Cyclops* contains two (203, 210). There is no line in the extant dramas with four resolved feet, but a specimen is provided by the fragments:<sup>3</sup>

*πενία δὲ σοφίαν ἔλαχε διὰ τὸ δυστυχές* (*Eur. fr.* 641, l. 3, ed. Nauck).

The occurrence of a succession of several lines, each containing one resolution or more, is also a general indication of lateness: stretches of four or more such lines are not to be found in any drama (except the satyr-play, the *Cyclops*<sup>4</sup>) written before c. 420. The following are the references: *El.* 12–15, *Tro.* 1167–70, *I.T.* 383–6, 913–16, *Ion* 982–5, 995–8, 1431–4, *Hel.* 52–5, 1208–11, 1236–9, *Phoen.* 366–9, 393–6, 536–9, 542–5, 553–6, 1598–601, *Or.* 79–83 (82 being omitted<sup>5</sup>), 490–3, 622–5, 629–32, 721–4, *Bacch.* 54–7, 445–8, 474–7, 700–3, *I.A.* 430–3, 1193–6, 1452–5. It is worthy of note that there are three examples in the *Ion*, but only one in the *Electra*. Five successive lines: *Tro.* 495–9, 506–10, *I.T.* 495–9, *Ion* 827–31, *Or.* 549–53, 894–8, 1575–9, *Bacch.* 8–12, *I.A.* 505–9, 630–4, 687–91, 1013–17, 1112–17 (1114 being omitted<sup>5</sup>). Six or more: *Hel.* 750–5 (six), *Or.* 244–51 (eight), 471–6 (six), 585–90 (six), 670–5 (six), 1027–32 (six), *I.A.* 1215–22 (eight), 1434–40 (seven).

In connexion with the four main trends of Euripides' metrical style shown in Table 2—namely (1) the increase in the frequency of first-foot dactyls after 425 (and their rarity before then); (2) the general increase in second-foot tribrachs, visible principally in the earliest and latest plays; (3) the considerable decrease in the percentage of third-foot dactyls; and (4) the tendency not to employ fifth-foot tribrachs before 425—it is not without interest to examine the comparative frequency of anapaests, dactyls, and tribrachs in the various possible positions in the line in previous iambic poets, i.e. the early iambographers,<sup>6</sup> Aeschylus, and Sophocles, and thence to estimate their influence on Euripides. In the case of the iambographers, the smallness of most of the fragments, coupled with the general infrequency of their use of resolutions,<sup>7</sup> renders an adequate judgement impossible, but some valuable points emerge. The fragments of Archilochus contain three resolutions:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All resolutions involving proper names are left out of account both here and in the figures that follow.

<sup>2</sup> The conspicuously small number of 23 in the *I.A.* may be another testimony to the scarcity of resolutions in the interpolated passages.

<sup>3</sup> Zieliński (pp. 213–40) attempts to establish the chronology of the lost plays of Euripides by examining the frequency of resolutions in their fragments. His results are interesting and often valuable: but it will be realized that deductions from small fragments of merely four or five lines can sometimes be very deceptive (cf. p. 81, n. 6, *supra*).

<sup>4</sup> In *Cycl.* are the following stretches: 161–4, 239–43 (five), 274–7, 433–6, 557–62 (six), and 587–90.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 70, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> The extent of the influence of the early iambus on the tragic trimeter is discussed by A. D. Knox, 'The Early Iambus', *Philologus*, lxxxvii (1932), pp. 32–5.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. P. Maas, *Griechische Metrik* (Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, 3rd ed., 1927, vol. i, part 7), p. 24, § 102, 'Teilung der longa ist sehr selten und ist beschränkt auf längere Wörter, in denen sich Kürzen häufen'; W. J. W. Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque*, Leyden, 1936, pp. 83–4.

<sup>8</sup> The iambographers are quoted from E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, vol. i, 2nd ed., 1936. References in brackets come from Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th ed. The iambic fragments of Archilochus total 43 lines, giving a

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18. 4 (21. 4) οὐδ' ἐρατός, οἶος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ἡ ἄσ  
 22. 3 (25. 3) θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος  
 36 (46) φηλῆτα νύκτωρ περὶ πόλιν πωλεύμενε,

those of Simonides<sup>1</sup> contain the following:

7. 1 (7. 1) χωρὶς γυναικὸς θεὸς ἐποίησεν νόον  
 7. 7 τὴν δ' ἔξ ἀλιτρῆς θεὸς ἔθηκ' ἀλώπεκος  
 7. 39 θέρεος ἐν ὥρῃ, πολλάκις δὲ μαίνεται  
 7. 43 τὴν δ' ἐκ σποδείης καὶ παλιντριβέος ὄνον  
 7. 78 δήνεα δὲ πάντα καὶ τρόπους ἐπίσταται  
 7. 102 ἔχθρὸν συνοικητῆρα δυσμενέα θέον  
 9 (10) τί ταῦτα μακρῶν διὰ λόγων ἀνέδραμον  
 15. 2 (17. 2) κατ τῆς ὅπισθεν ὄρσοθύριδος ἡλσάμην.

It is possible that in some of the above lines of Simonides not trisyllabic pronunciation but synizesis was intended: thus on fr. 7. 39 Diehl notes, 'θ. ut η 118 θέρευς bisyllabum'. Synizesis, in fact, might account for nearly all.<sup>2</sup> In Solon<sup>3</sup> there is one example:

25. 1 δῆμῷ μὲν εἰ χρὴ διαφάδην ὄνειδίσαι.

These twelve resolutions (if it be assumed that no synizesis was intended) are made up of five third-foot dactyls, two first-foot dactyls, two fifth-foot tribrachs, and one tribrach in the first, second, and fourth feet<sup>4</sup> respectively. There is no instance either of a first-foot anapaest or of a third-foot tribrach, but their absence is not necessarily of any great importance on account of the comparative scantiness of the fragments. The most important conclusion to be drawn from these figures, in so far as they can be reliable, is that the iambographers probably had no objection to the employment of first-foot dactyls, or even, apparently, of fifth-foot tribrachs.

The beginnings of the iambic trimeter of tragedy are lost in obscurity; of the tragedians earlier than Aeschylus very little remains—one line of Choerilus and nine of Phrynicus,<sup>5</sup> in which a first-foot tribrach occurs:

5. 3 πεδία δὲ πάντα καὶ παράκτιον πλάκα.

The resolved feet of Aeschylus himself and of Sophocles are analysed below (Table 4).

ratio of one resolution in 14½ lines. There are also two resolved feet involving proper names, frs. 20 (19) and 26 (23). The 28 (or so) trimeters in the frs. of the epodes are not taken into consideration (as being possibly subject to different metrical rules), but in any case there is no special feature in their evidence. On the metre of Archilochus, cf. H. Usener, *Alt-griechischer Versbau*, Bonn, 1887, p. 115, n. 9. Wilmowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, 1921, p. 289, postulates a certain amount of development in iambic poetry before Archilochus, but this is questioned by Knox (op. cit., p. 35, n. 26).

<sup>1</sup> These instances occur in 180 lines of fragments. Cf. Rumpel, *Philologus*, xxv (1867), p. 55, n. 1. In fr. 9, the source (schol. on Eur. *Phoen.* 207) reads διὰ μακρῶν: in fr. 15. 2, the source (*E. M.* 634. 1) reads ὄρσοθύρης.

<sup>2</sup> P. Maas in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. 'Simonides (1)' writes, 'Die Iamben sind ganz

strengh, keine Auflösungen (7. 1. 7 θεός, lies θεύς oder Ζεύς; 10 διὰ μακρῶν zerstört auch die Zäsur, Umstellung beseitigt nicht die Auflösung, bleibt also unsicher'. Descroix (p. 112), however, counts five resolutions in Sem.—three third-foot dactyls, one first-foot dactyl, and one first-foot tribrach.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only resolved foot in 42 iambic trimeters.

<sup>4</sup> In the five lines of τρίμετρα ὄρθα among the frs. of Hippoanax (frs. 66–9 Diehl) occur a first-foot tribrach, δλῆγα φρονέουσιν οἱ χάλιν πεπωκότες (fr. 66), and a first-foot anapaest involving a proper name (fr. 67, l. 2). The *Fragmenta iambica adespota* in Diehl (i<sup>2</sup>, fasc. 3, pp. 68–73) afford one instance of a second-foot and one of a fourth-foot tribrach (frs. 5 and 23).

<sup>5</sup> References to tragic fragments are quoted from A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graec. Fragmenta*, 2nd ed., 1926.

TABLE 4A. AESCHYLUS<sup>1</sup>

*Analysis of comparative frequency of anapaests, dactyls, and tribrachs in the various possible positions in the trimeter*

Play	Total of trimeters	Total of resolved feet (proper names excluded)	1ST FOOT						2ND FOOT						3RD FOOT						4TH FOOT					
			Anapaest		Dactyl		Tribrach		Tribrach		Dactyl		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach			
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
<i>Supplices</i>	472	39	1	3	0	..	3	8	1	3	24	62	5	13	3	8	2	5	4	10	13	31	8	17		
<i>Persae</i>	428	48	3	6	0	..	1	2	4	8	20	42	10	13	2	4	1	2	4	10	13	9	18	0	..	
<i>Septem</i>	532	51	4	8	1	2	1	2	2	4	28	55	6	12	1	2	1	2	4	10	13	5	13	0	..	
<i>Agamemnon</i>	862	40	7	18	0	..	4	10	1	3	18	45	5	13	5	13	0	..	1	3	13	39	5	13		
<i>Choephoroe</i>	619	33	2	6	2	6	6	18	2	6	13	39	5	15	3	9	0	..	4	11	13	39	3	9		
<i>Eumenides</i>	638	32	3	9	0	..	2	6	0	..	14	44	4	13	6	19	1	3	1	3	13	39	3	9		
<i>Prometheus</i>	773	38	12	32	0	..	1	3	0	..	15	39	5	13	4	11	1	3	1	3	13	39	5	13		
Total or average	4,324	281	32	11·39	3	1·07	18	6·42	10	3·56	132	46·98	40	14·23	38	13·52	8	2·85	..	..	..	..	..	..		

TABLE 4B. SOPHOCLES<sup>2</sup>

*Analysis of comparative frequency of anapaests, dactyls, and tribrachs in the various possible positions in the trimeter*

Play	Total of trimeters	Total of resolved feet (proper names excluded)	1ST FOOT						2ND FOOT						3RD FOOT						4TH FOOT					
			Anapaest		Dactyl		Tribrach		Tribrach		Dactyl		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach		Tribrach			
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
<i>Ajax</i>	1,024	63	4	6	2	3	6	10	4	6	29	46	8	13	9	14	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2		
<i>Antigone</i>	912	36	1	3	1	3	9	25	8	10	28	42	17	5	14	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3			
<i>Trachiniae</i>	962	57	7	12	1	2	4	7	3	5	33	58	3	5	6	11	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
<i>Oed. Tyrannus</i>	1,194	72	10	14	1	1	11	15	5	7	33	46	7	10	2	3	3	4	1	2	1	2	1	2		
<i>Electra</i>	1,126	38	1	3	1	3	8	21	6	16	13	34	3	8	5	13	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3		
<i>Philoctetes</i>	1,078	17	14	21	9	14	12	13	13	11	43	36	10	8	9	8	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	3		
<i>Oed. Coloneus</i>	1,268	66	5	8	2	3	7	11	11	17	29	44	6	9	6	9	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Total or average	7,564	451	45	9·98	19	4·21	59	13·08	45	9·98	190	42·13	43	9·53	42	9·31	8	1·77	..	..	..	..	..	..		

<sup>1</sup> These statistics are based on Murray's Oxford text (1937): the divergences between these results and those of Yorke (op. cit.) are mainly due to (1) his employment of the text of Wilamowitz (1914) and (2) his practice of regularly scanning words like *πόλεως* by synizesis. The resolution-frequencies given by the figures quoted above are: *Suppl.* 8·3% (1 in 12·1 lines), *Pers.* 11·2% (1 in 8·9), *Sept.* 9·6% (1 in 10·4), *Ag.* 4·6% (1 in 21·6), *Cho.* 5·3% (1 in 18·8), *Eum.* 5·0% (1 in 19·9), *Pr.* 4·9% (1 in 20·3): average, 6·49% (1 in 15·39). Resolved feet involving proper names were not included, but their totals are: *Suppl.* 4, *Pers.* 11, *Sept.* 18, *Ag.* 15, *Cho.* 5, *Eum.* 3, *Pr.* 9. There is no line in Aeschylus containing three resolutions, but there are eight instances of a line containing two: *Suppl.* 342, *Sept.* 268, 495, 593, 1010, *Ag.* 1584, *Cho.* 89, *Eum.* 474. There are no stretches of four successive lines each possessing one resolution; and there is only one example of a stretch of three such lines, *Pr.* 720-2. All lines in the Oxford text bracketed as corrupt, *Sept.* 1005-53 ex-

cepted, are excluded; lines completely obelized are also excluded, except for *Suppl.* 762-3, *Cho.* 699. Lines only partly obelized are retained, with the exception of *Eum.* 481, 567. In addition *Sept.* 803 (repeated), *Cho.* 5, 104ta have been omitted, but *Cho.* 6 retained. In *Cho.* 986, *ηιε*, although printed as a proper name, is counted as an ordinary resolution. The following trimeters have been included as having been spoken amid lyrics: *Suppl.* 354-8, 365-9, 376-80, 387-91, 397-401, 407-17, 739-42, 746-9, 753-6, 872-3, 882-4, 893-4; *Pers.* 260-1, 266-7, 272-3, 278-9, 284-5; *Pr.* 589-92; *Sept.* 100, 103, 208-10, 216-18, 223-5, 230-2, 236-8, 689-91, 695-7, 702-4; *Ag.* 1074-5, 1078-9, 1083-4, 1088-9, 1093-4, 1098-9, 1105-6, 1112-13, 1119-20, 1130-1, 1138-9, 1148-9. Previous analyses (besides works already quoted): R. Enger, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F., xi (1857), pp. 444-50; Rumpel, 'Die Auflösungen im Trimeter des Aeschylus und Sophocles', *Philologus*, xxv (1867), pp. 54-66.

<sup>2</sup> The plays are arranged in the chronological

TABLE 4C

Average of comparative frequencies in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides

Tragedian	Total of resolved feet (proper names excluded)	1ST FOOT			2ND FOOT		3RD FOOT		4TH FOOT		5TH FOOT	
		Anapaest	Dactyl	Tribrach	Tribrach	Dactyl	Tribrach	Tribrach	Tribrach	Tribrach	Tribrach	
Aeschylus	281	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
		11.39	1.07	6.41	3.56	46.08	14.23		13.52		2.85	
Sophocles	451	9.98	4.21	13.08	9.98	42.13	9.53	9.31	1.77			
Euripides	3,601	10.30	8.55	5.89	15.25	35.43	11.73	11.19			1.06	

Comparison between the three sets of averages in Table 4c yields a very clear picture of the development of certain metrical tendencies in the tragedians. The third-foot dactyl is the most common of the resolved feet, but its predominance declined steadily, largely of course owing to the increased use of resolutions in other positions. Euripides' dramatic career started early enough for the complete change of style in this respect to be visible in his dramas. The honour of being the second most common resolution in Aeschylus is won by the third-foot tribrach by a short head from the fourth-foot tribrach (the frequencies being 14.23% and 13.52% respectively): in Sophocles and Euripides, too, they again almost tie, the fourth-foot tribrach slightly predominating in both, with about 9.5% in the former poet and 11.5% in the latter. Their frequencies vary rather widely from play to play, and are of little use for chronology except for the already mentioned fact that in Euripides the tribrach in the third foot is always more frequent than that in the fourth except in two periods, the one containing *Med.* and *Herac.*, the other a group of three of the latest plays, *Phoen.*, *Or.*, and *Bacch.* The anapaest in the first foot appears with great constancy in all three tragedians on an average of once in ten resolutions: but the examples in Aeschylus merit closer inspection. In the *Supplices* the proportion is 3%, in the *Persae* 6%, in the *Septem* 8%; the average in the *Oresteia* rises to just over 11% (the *Agamemnon* contains 18%), while in the *Prometheus* (very probably the latest of the extant plays<sup>1</sup>) the figure increases rapidly to 32%. It may be suggested as a possibility

order suggested by T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles*, 1936, pp. 6-7; the figures have been calculated from the Oxford text (ed. A. C. Pearson), and yield the following resolution-frequencies: *Aj.* 6.2% (1 in 16.3 lines), *Ant.* 3.9% (1 in 25.3), *Tr.* 5.9% (1 in 16.9), *O.T.* 6.0% (1 in 16.7), *El.* 3.4% (1 in 29.6), *Ph.* 11.0% (1 in 9.1), *O.C.* 5.2% (1 in 19.2): average, 5.96% (1 in 16.77). Resolved feet involving proper names were not included, but their totals are: *Aj.* 15, *Ant.* 11, *Tr.* 9, *O.T.* 18, *El.* 16, *Ph.* 13, *O.C.* 21. There are two lines containing three resolutions each, *O.T.* 967 and *Ph.* 932, and fifteen containing two each: *Aj.* 730, 854; *Tr.* 878, 1066; *O.T.* 1276; *El.* 433; *Ph.* 797, 815, 923, 1018, 1029, 1232, 1327, 1420; *O.C.* 284. Stretches of four successive lines each possessing one resolution do not occur, but runs of three successive lines can be found at *Ph.* 484-6, 600-2. Lines bracketed as corrupt are uniformly excluded: lines completely obelized are also excluded, but those only partly obelized are retained. The common words *ηλει* (*Aj.* 846) and *νέμεοι* (*El.* 792) have been taken as ordinary resolutions, although printed as proper names. The following trimeters have been included as

being (apparently) spoken amid lyrics: *Aj.* 354-5, 362-3, 367-9, 371, 377-8, 382-4, 386, 392-3, 410-11, 872, 874, 876-8, 892, 894-6, 898-9, 904-7, 915-24, 938, 940-2, 944-5, 950-3; *El.* 1236, 1238, 1243-4, 1251-2, 1257, 1259, 1264, 1271-2, 1279, 1398-403, 1406, 1409-12, 1415-16, 1422-7, 1430, 1432, 1435-6; *O.T.* 655, 658-9, 669-77, 684, 687-8, 1312, 1317-20, 1325-8, 1347-8; *Ant.* 1270, 1278-83, 1293, 1301-5, 1312-16, 1326-7, 1334-8; *Tr.* 863-4, 866-7, 869-79, 889, 891; *Ph.* 730-1, 733-5, 737-8, 740-9; *O.C.* 1457-61, 1472-6, 1486-90. Previous analyses: Rumpel, *Philologus*, xxv (1867), pp. 54-66; G. Wolff, *Soph. Elektra*, 1863, p. 123, n. 1; E. Philipp, *Der iambische Trimeter und sein Bau bei Sophokles*, Prague, 1879; J. Oberdick, *Neue Philologische Rundschau*, 1887, pp. 165-6; Hosius (apud A. Dieterich), *Rhein. Mus.*, xlvi (1891), p. 43, n. 3 (inaccurate); H. Siess, *Wiener Studien*, xxxvi (1914), pp. 247-9; Kitto, *Amer. Journ. Philol.* ix (1939), pp. 183-90. Further references for Aesch. and Soph. are listed by H. Gleditsch, *Metrik* (I. Müller, *Handbuch d. kl. Altertumsw.* ii, pt. 3, 1901), p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. O. Müller, *G. g. L.* 4 i, p. 545 (Eng. trans. 1840, p. 327; 1858, i, p. 432); 'zu den letzten Werken des Äschylyischen Genius gehört aller

that the anapaest was not employed by the iambographers,<sup>1</sup> was introduced by the early tragedians, and was adopted by Aeschylus, in his earlier plays sparingly, but extensively later. The first-foot dactyl seems to have been used to a certain extent by the iambographers, but in the earliest tragedy it was apparently rare or even non-existent. It revived, however, and its regular increase can be watched. Aeschylus possesses only three instances<sup>2</sup> among the 281 resolved feet, or about 1%: in Sophocles the proportion has risen to over 4%, a part of the rise being due to the fact that one of the last plays, the *Philoctetes*, contains eleven examples out of the nineteen found in the poet. The 8·5% in Euripides is a further increase, but is only the average between two extremes. For whereas in each of the plays of Sophocles, both early and late, one at least, or even two first-foot dactyls appear, in Euripides there are scarcely any until 425 (the *Andr.*), but from then onwards the frequency rises to the maximum of 14% in the *I.A.* Very similar is the increase in the use of the second-foot tribach. This form of resolution (found in the iambographers) was employed by the tragedians rarely at first, but with ever-growing repetition. Aeschylus' figure is 3·5%: that of Sophocles reaches 10%, but once more part of the rise is due to the last two dramas, the *O.C.* and *Philoctetes*, which account for eleven and thirteen respectively of the forty-five instances in the seven plays. In Euripides the average is 15·25%: the earliest plays contain for the most part 9% or less (*Rhes.*, *Med.*, *Hippol.*), the latest 18% or over (*Or.*, *Bacch.*, *I.A.*), but those of the intermediate period vary erratically around 15%. The first-foot tribach provides the only instance of any really independent deviation in the use of resolved feet on the part of one or more of the tragedians. Aeschylus contains eighteen such feet, or 6·41%: but twelve of the eighteen occur in the *Oresteia*, which has thus an average of over 11%. Perhaps subconsciously following this lead, Sophocles made fuller use of the resolution (with an average of a little over 13%). But in Euripides its occurrence reverts to 5·89%, a figure quite close to that of Aeschylus, and there is no trace of Sophoclean influence in this respect. The history of the fifth-foot tribach is a strange one, for it illustrates, not an increase in frequency, but a process of gradual disuse. Unless the two examples in Semonides were meant to be pronounced by synizesis, it can be concluded that this resolution was not unknown to the iambographers: but in the tragedians it becomes successively rarer. Aeschylus has the largest proportion with almost 3%, and it is possibly not without significance that four out of the eight examples occur in the *Supplices* and *Persae*, the two earliest plays. Sophocles descends to a little under 2% and Euripides to 1%.<sup>3</sup> In view of this decrease, it is surprising that in his own

Wahrscheinlichkeit nach sein Prometheus . . .'; Harrison, 'Αἰσχύλος Σοφοκλεῖον', *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.* cxviii-cxx (1921), pp. 14-15; W. Schmid, *Untersuchungen zum gefesselten Prometheus*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, ix, 1929, p. 19 (where the *Pr.* is considered spurious but dated between 458 and 445); G. Thomson, *Prometheus Bound*, 1932, pp. 38-46; Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 1934, pp. lxvii-lxix; 'Pauses in the Tragic Semarius', *C.Q.* xxx (1936), pp. 76-7; Yorke, op. cit., *C.Q.* xxx, p. 117; 'The Date of the *Prometheus Vinctus*', *C.Q.* xxx, pp. 153-4; W. F. J. Knight, 'Zeus in the *Prometheia*', *J.H.S.* lviii (1938), p. 53; D. S. Robertson, *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.* clxix-clxxi (1938), pp. 9-10; H. G. Mullens, *Greece and Rome*, viii (1938-9), pp. 160-71.

<sup>1</sup> The only instance of it found in the frs. involves a proper name, *Kριτῆς ὁ Χιός ἐν καστ-*

ρικῷ δόμῳ (Hippomax, fr. 67, l. 2).

<sup>2</sup> ὁ θεομάνες . . . (*Sept.* 653), καὶ τίνα σύνοισθα . . . (*Cho.* 216), ηλιος ἀναγνε . . . (*Cho.* 986). (ἀρρέπας, θρα . . . in *Ag.* 7 is bracketed in the Oxford text.) There seems no reason for suspecting Aeschylus' use of the first-foot dactyl, in spite of the doubts of Yorke (*C.Q.* xxx, p. 117). Cf. A. E. Housman, *Journ. Philol.* xvi (1888), p. 245. Cases of this resolution involving proper names occur at *Sept.* 450, *Ag.* 1312, and *Pr.* 730. It will be noticed that the resolution is found in the later plays only.

<sup>3</sup> The smallness of this figure is only in a negligible degree due to the absence of such resolution in the plays anterior to 425 (*Andromache*). The average even in those which do contain this resolution (i.e. those which were written in 425 and after) is very much less than 2%.

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plays Euripides entirely reverses the trend (cf. Table 2), resolving the foot in the *Andr.* and subsequently, but rarely, if ever, doing so in plays of earlier date. It may be that, never having carefully examined the trend of the fifth-foot tribachs in his predecessors' metrical practice, he considered it a licence *always* to be avoided as much as possible: if so, the very sparse instances in the later dramas can be regarded as almost inevitable corollaries of the all-round increase in the metrical freedom he allowed himself. But, by reason of the rarity of this resolution, it is hazardous to place too much emphasis either on the decrease itself or any explanation thereof.

The metrical styles of the dramatists contemporary with the three great masters might be better gauged had more of their work survived.<sup>1</sup> What can be gleaned from their tragic<sup>2</sup> fragments is collected in Table 5.<sup>3</sup> The proportion of trisyllabic feet in most cases<sup>4</sup> is very much nearer the average of Euripides (1 in 4.97 lines)<sup>5</sup> than of Aeschylus (1 in 15.39) or Sophocles (1 in 16.77), even in Aristarchus, Ion, and Achaeus, all of whom were probably composing as early as c. 450.<sup>6</sup> The comparative frequencies in the various positions in the trimeter contain some marked differences. Third-foot dactyls undergo a further decline, except in the fragments of Ion's tragedies; the percentage of first-foot anapaests, on the other hand, rises considerably, and in Agathon accounts for almost half the resolved feet.

Succeeding tragedians, for the greater part of the fourth century, brought about a further increase in the average resolution-frequency, fluctuating usually between 1 in 2.5 lines and 1 in 4 (see Table 6).<sup>7</sup> But their practice shows distinct signs of a lack

<sup>1</sup> The subject of trisyllabic feet in the minor tragedians has been treated by C. F. W. Müller, *De pedibus solutis in tragicorum minorum trimetris iambicis*, Berlin, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> The following passages from frs. of satyr-plays belong to this period: Aristias, 5 ll., 2 res., frs. 3 (l. 2), 4; Ion, 11 ll., 4 res., frs. 21, 23, 29 (ll. 1, 2), also fr. 24 (l. 3) involves a proper name; Achaeus, 29 ll. (both ll. of fr. 8 included, fr. 27, l. 2 excluded), 3 res., frs. 7 (l. 2), 8 (l. 1), 14 (l. 1); Iophon, 2 ll., no res. On the resolutions in Eur. *Cycl.*, Soph. *Ichneutae*, and the satyr-plays of the minor tragedians, see R. J. Walker, *The Ichneutae of Sophocles*, 1919, pp. 189-269.

<sup>3</sup> The references are: Neophron, fr. 2 (l. 15); Aristarchus, frs. 2 (ll. 4, 5), 3; Ion, frs. 2, 54 (l. 1), 55 (l. 2), 56, 60, 63 (l. 2), also fr. 1 (l. 3) involves a p.n.; Achaeus, frs. 3 (ll. 1, 3), 37 (l. 4), 42 (l. 2), 44; Sthenelus, fr. 1; Agathon, frs. 4 (ll. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), 5 (l. 2), 13 (l. 1), 15, 21, 22, 25, also fr. 4 (l. 3) involves a p.n.; Critias, frs. 1 (ll. 1, 6, 19, 31, 40), 2, 5 (l. 1); Dicaeogenes, frs. 2 (l. 1), 4 (l. 2); Diogenes (Atheniensis), fr. 1 (ll. 3, 7, 10, 11), also fr. 1 (ll. 1, 2, 7) involve p.ns.; the following ll. contain two res. each, Agathon, fr. 4 (ll. 4, 5), 21. Not included in the table are the frs. of Melanthius (1 l.), Iophon (3 ll.), and Xenocles (1 l.), which possess no resolution. The *Incertarum fabularum fragmenta* have been counted with the tragic frs. in Tables 5 and 6, although a few of the lines, e.g. Achaeus, frs. 42, 44, may be satyric.

<sup>4</sup> The ratio for Neophron (1 in 24) may favour a fairly early date if the lines are genuine. Their authenticity has been impugned by Wilamowitz,

*Hermes*, xv (1880), p. 487, and by others, but defended by Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, pp. 290-1.

<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that, of the 14 res. occurring in 39 ll. of Agathon, 7 are in the 6 lines of fr. 4. (If this fr. were omitted, the frequency would be 1 in 4.7 (7 res. in 33 ll.), a figure closer to those of his contemporaries.) Of these 7 res., 4 are second-foot tribachs, a form of resolution found much more commonly in the fourth cent. (see *infra*). If rightly attributed to Agathon, the passage was probably written near the end of his life, when fourth-cent. tendencies were already commencing.

<sup>6</sup> For the dates of the minor tragedians cf. Haigh, *Tragic Drama*, Appendix I, pp. 463-72. On the date of Dicaeogenes cf. A. Dieterich, *R.E.* v. 1, 563, 'nach Schol. Aristoph. Eccl. 1 scheint er ein Zeitgenosse Agathons gewesen zu sein.'

<sup>7</sup> The references are: Chaeremon, frs. 1 (ll. 4, 7), 4, 5, 6, 7 (ll. 1, 2), 8, 9 (l. 2), 11 (l. 1), 13 (l. 2), 14 (ll. 2, 3, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17), 15, 17 (ll. 1, 2), 20, 25, 33, also fr. 12 (l. 1) involves a p.n.; Antiphon, fr. 2 (ll. 1, 2), also fr. 2 (l. 2) involves a p.n.; Dionysius, frs. 2 (ll. 2, 3), 4, 6, 8, also fr. 9 involves a p.n.; Carcinus, frs. 1, 4 (ll. 1, 2), 5 (l. 2), also fr. 5 (ll. 6, 9) involve p.ns.; Theodectes, frs. 2 (ll. 1, 2, 4), 6 (ll. 2, 3, 5, 6), 7 (l. 1), 8 (ll. 3, 5), 9 (l. 2), 10 (l. 2), 13 (l. 1), 14 (l. 1); (*μαλακόθεαλμος* in fr. 6, l. 1 is not listed; 'corruptum', Nauck;) Cleaenetus, fr. 2 (l. 2); Crates, frs. 2 (l. 1), 3 (ll. 2, 3, 4), 4 (l. 2); the following ll. contain two res. each, Chaeremon, frs. 1 (l. 7), 15, 17 (l. 2), 33, Theodectes, fr. 6 (ll. 2, 3, 5), Crates, fr. 3 (l. 4). Not included in the table are the frs. of

TABLE 5

Table showing use of resolutions by the minor tragedians in the latter half of the fifth century

Tragedian	Total of fringers	Total of resolved feet	Proportion of resolved feet, in ratio	1ST FOOT			2ND FOOT		3RD FOOT			4TH FOOT		5TH FOOT	
				Anapaest			Dactyl	Tribrach	Tribrach		Dactyl	Tribrach	Tribrach		
Neophron	24	1	1 in 24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	
Aristarchus	12	3	1 in 4	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	
Ion	28	6	1 in 4.7	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	
Achaeus	25	5	1 in 5	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	
Sthenelus	1	1	?	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Agathon	39	14	1 in 2.8	6	1	..	..	4	2	..	1	..	..	..	
Critias	49	7	1 in 7	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	
Dicaeogenes	8	2	1 in 4	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	
Diogenes (Atheniensis)	11	4	1 in 2.8	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	
Total	197	43	..	11	4	3	7	10	4	4	4	0	..	..	
Percentage	..	..	..	26	9	7	16	23	9	9	9	..	..	..	

TABLE 6

Table showing use of resolutions by the minor tragedians in the fourth century

Tragedian	Total of fringers	Total of resolved feet	Proportion of resolved feet, in ratio	1ST FOOT			2ND FOOT		3RD FOOT			4TH FOOT		5TH FOOT	
				Anapaest			Dactyl	Tribrach	Tribrach		Dactyl	Tribrach	Tribrach		
Chæremon	73	28	1 in 2.6	5	..	..	..	7	11	..	..	5	..	..	
Antiphon	5	2	1 in 2.5	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Dionysius	19	5	1 in 3.8	..	1	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	
Carcinus	25	4	1 in 6.3	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	
Theodectes	58	17	1 in 3.4	2	2	..	..	4	5	2	2	..	..	..	
Cleaneetus	3	1	1 in 3.0	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Crates	11	6	1 in 1.8	1	..	..	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	
Total	194	63	..	9	4	0	..	16	20	4	10	0	..	..	
Percentage	..	..	..	14	6	..	..	25	33	6	16	..	..	..	

of flexibility (an indication of incipient decadence), since to a very large extent they confined themselves to four only of the eight possible forms of resolution<sup>1</sup>—in descending order, the third-foot dactyl, second-foot tribrach, fourth-foot tribrach, and first-foot anapaest respectively; in fact, the twenty-eight resolved feet in Chæremon consist entirely of these four forms. First-foot dactyls and third-foot tribrachs accordingly become quite rare; of first-foot tribrachs there remains no trace at all.

Towards the end of the fourth century a new style of tragic composition came into vogue, in which, it seems, no resolution whatever was admitted. For instance, in Moschion<sup>2</sup> (67 lines extant), Sosiphanes (10 ll.), and Sositheus (26 ll.)<sup>3</sup> not a single trisyllabic foot occurs. The extent to which this tendency was followed by ensuing poets cannot be precisely ascertained, but it is clear that it was commonly if not

Astydamas (9 ll.) and Diogenes Sinopensis (4 ll.), which possess no resolution.

<sup>1</sup> The above applies to tragic frs. only; the satyr-plays of the fourth cent. retained their usual metrical freedom, as their frs. show: Astydamas, 4 ll., 4 res., fr. 3 (ll. 2, 4); Python, 18 ll., 12 res., fr. 1 (ll. 1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18), also fr. 1 (ll. 8, 17) involve p.ns.

<sup>2</sup> Nauck, p. 816, 'trisyllabis enim pedibus sicut Sositheus et alii quidam ita Moschion abstinuit'. Fr. 10, which contains resolved feet, was rejected

by Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> Sositheus' remains total 27 lines, of which fr. 4 (1 l.) seems satyric. On frs. 2 (21 ll.) and 3 (3 ll.), both from the *Daphnis*, Nauck notes (p. 821), 'sine dubio Daphnis Sosithei satyrica fuit fabula haud dissimilis Alcestidi Euripideae', i.e. the drama appears to have been a pro-satyric tragedy like the *Alcestis*. It is unlikely that the banishment of resolutions affected satyr-plays proper; cf. Lycophron's satyric frs., 14 ll., 8 res., frs. 1 (l. 5), 2 (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), 4 (l. 2).

universally adopted.<sup>1</sup> Thus Greek tragedy had reached its last period; and the completely artificial restoration of metrical 'purity', which was intended to revive the dignity and power of the best age of the early drama, in fact ushered in the final stage of its decline.

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<sup>1</sup> There is no resolution in the tragic frs. of Lycophron (5 ll.) or of Philiscus (2 ll.), both known to be contemporaries of Sosiphanes and Sositheus. The thirteen dramatists of unknown date (several of them probably very late) listed by Nauck (pp. 824-32) present only 4 res. in

their combined total of 60 ll. It is possible that these 4 cases, Apollonides frs. 1 (l. 3), 2 (l. 1), Isidorus, fr. 1 (l. 4) and Pompeius Macer, fr. 1 (l. 3), are only apparent exceptions, which might well be explained by the assumption of either early fourth-cent. composition or satyric origin.

## IE. \*PENT- AND ITS DERIVATIVES

THE root *\*pent-*<sup>1</sup> has achieved wide distribution in the IE. languages. In the course of its long history considerable modification of meaning has affected it, both as a primary verb and as it appears in derivative nouns, and here I refer particularly to Go. *finþan* 'find' (with the other verbs of like meaning) and to Gk. *ἀπάτη* 'deceit'. With little ingenuity—against mere ingenuity, of course, the etymologist is bound to be on his guard—it is possible to trace the train of thought that connects the various forms. But though the explanations here offered may well seem obvious, they have not, so far as I am aware, been previously published. The familiar dictionaries of Boisacq, Walde-Hofmann, and Walde-Pokorny do provide attempts at explanation, but these have little power of convincing.

### i. THE IE. MEANING OF *\*pent-*

The first task, and possibly the hardest, is to arrive at the primary meaning of *\*pent-* itself. Walde-Pokorny (ii, p. 26) offers 'tread, go', Boisacq (s.v. *πόντος*) 'come, go'. The evidence leading to these choices is chiefly provided by the following: Skt. *páñthās* 'path, way', Av. *paθ-* 'id.', Arm. *hun* 'ford, way', Gk. *πόντος* 'sea',<sup>2</sup> Lat. *pons* 'bridge': Gk. *πατέω* 'tread under foot', *πάτος* 'trodden path': OHG. *fend(e)* 'pedestrian', OS. *fundōn* 'strive, go': O.Ir. *con-ētāt* 'reach, obtain'.<sup>3</sup>

The first thing that strikes attention in these meanings is the sense 'way' of the widespread, and in part very ancient, noun-forms Skt. *páñthās*, Av. *paθ-*, Arm. *hun*, Gk. *πάτος* and *πόντος*, Lat. *pons*. Of these *πάτος* = 'trodden, beaten path':<sup>4</sup> this meaning is reinforced by *πατέω*, probably a causative verb formed from the stem of *πάτος*, 'make into a trodden path, trample on'. Skt. *páñthās* and Av. *paθ-* do not show the same insistence on 'trodden path'; but their simple sense 'path' does not contradict the notion of treading on, while not specifically confirming it. Arm. *hun*, Gk. *πόντος*, Lat. *pons* agree in adding to the sense 'way' a connexion with water, which must be examined a little further.

Let it be suggested without prejudice at this point that the primary sense of *\*pent-* was 'tread down'. That sense is enough to explain Gk. *πάτος*, Skt. *páñthās*, Av. *paθ-*: but Arm. *hun*, Gk. *πόντος*, Lat. *pons* are not at once so clear. Further, in OS. *fundōn* 'strive, go' (and, if this word is included in our series, in O.Ir. *con-ētāt* 'reach') there is a sense 'go'. Inevitably certain conclusions about the life and surroundings of the Indo-Europeans<sup>5</sup> will have to be drawn to explain these semantic changes of the primary 'tread down', since such changes always take their origin from human thought and experience. If IE. 'tread down' became 'go', that was because at a certain period making a way on foot entailed the action of treading something down, of trampling flat some vegetation, grasses, reeds, and such-like.<sup>6</sup> Here the

<sup>1</sup> The form in Aryan (Indo-Iranian) was *\*penth-*: the more widespread *\*pent-* is in this paper cited alone as the IE. root, and should be understood to represent *\*penth-* also, as occasion requires.

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of this meaning, see 'The Name of the Euxine Pontus', *C.Q.* xxxiv. 2/3. The sense 'sea' is there derived from an earlier 'way'.

<sup>3</sup> This uncertain Irish cognate will be discussed later.

<sup>4</sup> This meaning is plain from the idea of a way

frequently used, much trodden on: e.g. Hom. *Il. vi. 202*, *πάτον ἀνθρόπων ἀλεῖναι*, of Bellerophontes avoiding human intercourse.

<sup>5</sup> This is the common abbreviation for 'speakers of IE.', which it is convenient to use.

<sup>6</sup> Similar reasoning from another example may be seen in *K.Z.* lxiv. 62-3. There Specht connects *ἄγω* with *ἄγομαι* 'go, be led', and so arrives at the conclusion that in the IE. period the road was the track of cart-ruts, made by the merchants or migrating bands with carts and herds of cattle.

introduction of the idea of watery surroundings, possibly of marshes, seen as the basis for Arm. *hun*, Gk. *πόντος*, and Lat. *pons*,<sup>1</sup> is a further support. It is of course sufficiently established, by the comparison of many names of plants in the IE. languages, that the primitive people did not inhabit a barren, sandy region. The suggested development of meaning of \*pent- would confirm that. This Indo-European method of travelling recalls the vivid phrase of Greek, *τέμνειν ὁδούς* (Hdt. iv. 136; Thuc. ii. 100, etc.).<sup>2</sup>

Such, then, is the reasoning by which it is possible to proceed from an original sense 'tread down' for \*pent- and from it explain the other senses that have been noted. The alternative open to us is to regard, with Boisacq, the original sense as 'come, go'. The philologist who takes this view can argue that 'going' in conditions such as those just imagined entailed 'treading down', and hence the transfer of meaning to 'treading'. This is quite allowable. But it does not really greatly alter our notion of the IE. sense 'tread down'. It is perfectly feasible that the earliest sense of IE. \*pent- (*urindogermanisch*) was 'go'; or it may have been something else altogether. Semantic change takes many remarkable forms, and it is in general as idle to predict what future meanings of words in present currency will be, as it is to push back the reconstruction of IE. meanings too far into remote epochs out of our observation and understanding. The only profitable course is to observe the facts and to keep close to them in forming deductions. After such observation of the words with the root \*pent-, I think the sense of 'treading down' for \*pent- is implicit not only in Gk. *πάτος*, *πατέω* but also in the three words relating to water, Gk. *πόντος*, Arm. *hun*, Lat. *pons*;<sup>3</sup> and may be seen in Skt. *pánthás*, Av. *paθ-*, OHG. *fend(e)o*.<sup>4</sup> A meaning so widely distributed may fairly be attributed to IE. itself.

As illustration, not as proof, of the semantic development suggested for IE. \*pent-, we may briefly consider some other IE. roots of like meaning. (1) \*trep- (Walde-Pokorny, i. 756) 'take short steps, trample, tread': Gk. *ἀτραπός*, *ἀτραπός* 'path',<sup>5</sup> *τροπέοντος* *ἐπάτου* Hesych., *τραπέω* 'tread grapes'. The sense 'tread on' remains in the great majority of the cognates given in W.-P. (2) \*der-: \*drā- \*drew- \*drem- \*dreb- (W.-P. i. 795-7) 'run, tread, take short steps'. From this extensive series come Gk. *ἀποδιδράσκω* 'run away', *ἔδραμον*, *δρόμος*: possibly Go. *trudan* 'tread', Eng. *tread*, with the double idea of 'go' and 'step on': Go. *ana-trimpian* 'tread on', Eng. *tramp* (with sense 'go heavily, go on foot'), frequentative *trample*. (3) \*steb- \*stemb- (W.-P. ii. 623-4) 'tread, stamp on' (and also some other meanings in W.-P. into which there is no need to enter here): Gk. *στέμψω* 'tread under foot', OE. *steppan*

<sup>1</sup> This Latin word clearly has a further semantic history of its own. There is the suggestion of E. Täubler, *Terremare und Rom* (mentioned by Specht with approval, *K.Z.* lxii. 245-6), that *pons* 'way' acquired its meaning 'bridge' from the way leading from the mainland to a *terra-mara* settlement: this opinion certainly agrees well with the picture of watery surroundings to which we have been led.

<sup>2</sup> Specht, *K.Z.* lxiv. 62-3, also cites Lat. *viam secare*. But I do not know of an early Latin use of this idiom, and believe that Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 899) has the earliest example of it: that author's propensity for copying Greek idiom makes it likely that in this particular phrase we have not a native Italic metaphor. There is a possibility that Lat. *secta* might be compared. The etymology of this word is disputed, one may connect it with either *seco* or *sequor* (Ernout-Meillet prefers *sequor*). But the meaning *secta* 'faction,

principles' is the predominant one, and such an early metaphorical development makes the derivation from *seco* unlikely, if we have regard to the date of the *viam secare* idiom. It is unsafe to settle the derivation of *secta* by appeal to the ancient conjunction of *sectam* and *sequor*, for that fact may show only that, to the ancient Roman mind, the words *sequor* and *secta* were related.

<sup>3</sup> Since I do not see such a good reason for this special connexion of \*pent- with watery surroundings in three branches of IE., if we start from the meaning 'go'.

<sup>4</sup> He is not merely a man who goes, a traveller in a general sense, but one who treads as he goes, who goes on foot.

<sup>5</sup> See O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frähgriechischen Denken*, p. 35 (Berlin, 1937). The words are used especially of hill paths.

'tread firmly', Eng. *step* 'take step, walk', nasalized Eng. *stamp*. (4) \*stip- \*stib- (W.-P. ii. 646-8) 'press together': Gk. *στείβω* 'make firm, stamp on; go', *στίβος* 'trodden path', *στιβέω* 'tread over', *στιβέος* Hesych. 'one who treads, walks'. From these four roots may be seen the connexion of 'stamp, tread on' with 'go', and from \*strep- and \*stib- the formation of Greek noun derivatives with the sense 'beaten path, way'; and both of these facts find a parallel in the development of \*pent-. On the other hand, \*pent- is marked off from the rest by its partial connexion with water.

Hence we are on firm ground in assuming the meaning 'tread on' for \*pent- in IE. Walde-Pokorny does, indeed, give that sense, but it is worth while to have gone over the evidence and made fairly certain of it for two reasons. First, Boisacq allows only 'come, go' for \*pent-. Secondly, in what follows I make use of the sense 'tread on' to explain both Go. *finpan*, etc., and Gk. *ἀνδρην*, but Walde-Pokorny does not do so in either of the cases; as I shall there differ from that work, it is only proper to have shown the reasons for agreeing with it on the IE. meaning of \*pent-.

## 2. THE MEANING 'FIND'

A series of words in Germanic derived from \*pent- shows the meaning 'find': Go. *finpan*, ON. *finna*, OHG. *findan*, OE. *findan*, Eng. *find*.<sup>1</sup> To explain this semantic development Boisacq (s.v. *πόντος*) and Walde-Pokorny offer a comparison of Lat. *invenire*,<sup>2</sup> Walde-Hofmann (*Lat. Et. Wb.*, edn. 3, s.v. *invenio*) returns the compliment by comparing with that Latin word the example of Go. *finpan*: Kluge (*Et. Wb. d. deutschen Sprache*, edn. 11, s.v. *finden*) appeals to Lat. *invenire*. Walde-Hofmann and Kluge also give examples from Slavonic.

What is the point of these comparisons? Lat. *venio* = 'come': *invenio* = 'come to, come upon' and so 'find'. In this way we see the development of 'find' from a sense 'come'. The Slavonic parallels serve exactly the same purpose: Russ. *на-ждú*, Slov. *na-jdem* 'find', where the first element *na-* (= Gk. *ἀν-*) 'on' is followed by the verb 'come, go'. But the comparisons are misleading. The Latin and the Slavonic words quoted with the sense 'find' are compound verbs.<sup>3</sup> Lat. *invenio* does not mean simply 'come', but 'come upon'. The adverbial prefix *in-* has a vital part to play in determining the meaning of *invenio*. It is not legitimate to assume that the same semantic development can affect the simple as the compound verb. The fact can be seen more clearly if we take another Latin derivative of *venio*. *subvenio* 'come to the assistance of, aid' has originally a military sense, being used of reserve forces coming up to those engaged and helping them. So *subvenio* = 'aid': but no one would argue from that fact that *venio* in any degree has or approaches that meaning.

It may be answered that it is unfair to compare *subvenio* and *invenio* for this purpose, because the former has undergone a greater change of meaning which separates it more from the simple *venio*. I am not sure that that is true, but even if it is, it is of no importance. It is the entire principle that must be rejected, that semantic changes in verbs compounded with adverbial prefixes may be regarded as evidence for similar semantic change in the uncompounded forms. *invenio* and *subvenio* must be regarded as almost new verbs, with development of meaning peculiarly

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, *K.Z.* xxx. 466, would derive Ir. *étaim* 'I go, find' from \*pent-. But this seems unlikely, and it is preferable to derive it from \*ei-, of which it is then a frequentative form: see Lewis and Pedersen, *Concise Comp. Celtic Grammar*, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> So, too, *OED.* s.v. *find*, though the descent of that verb from \*pent- is not there definitely

accepted.

<sup>3</sup> Except Lith. *rāsti* quoted by Walde-Hofmann from Trautmann, *B.B.* xxix. 308-9. *rāsti* has the sense 'find', and Trautmann compares cognate words with senses developed from 'go'. But the etymology is uncertain: Brugmann, *I.F.* xxx. 38, prefers to link *rāsti* with Gk. *εύπορω* and a different root.

their own. Because of their connexion with *venio*, obvious to the mind of the speaker of Latin, an innovation of meaning in *venio* was also capable of affecting the compounds. Apart from that possibility, compound verbs have independent existence.

There is, however, another sense in which the semantic comparison of *venio*: *invenio* with \**pent-* may be intended. \**pent-* in IE. had the meaning 'come, go'. Did 'find' develop out of that 'come' in the same way as in *invenio*; i.e. 'come' > 'come upon' > 'find'? The middle part of this series is here vital to our purpose. If \**pent-* can be shown to mean 'come upon' in IE. or in primitive Germanic, then the explanation offered is clearly possible, and the comparison of *invenio* justified. In Germanic I do not see good evidence for the required meaning. In Celtic we must reckon with O.Ir. *con-ētāt* 'assequuntur' (Boisacq)—I believe the Irish meaning is 'obtain' rather than 'arrive at'. But *con-ētāt* does not take us far, if indeed anywhere. It is a compound verb, with *con-* (= Lat. *cum*) as the first element, and thus open to the same objection as Lat. *invenio*; and in any case its connexion with \**pent-* is doubtful, since it may be derived from \**sthā-*.<sup>1</sup> To sum up, there seems to be no solid ground for assuming the sense 'come upon' for \**pent-*, in IE., in prim. Germanic, or in prim. Celtic.

Beside the series Go. *finpan*, etc., we must also take account of another group of Germanic verbs: OHG. *fantōn* (*fandōn*), OE. *fandian*, MHG. *vanden*, NHG. *fahnden*. The meaning of OHG. *fantōn* is 'investigate, seek out, search'; the other verbs have similar sense (for NHG. *fahnden* Grimm's *Deutsch. Wb.* has 'rimari, tentare, explorare'). The root \**pent-*, then, means not only 'find' but also the opposite 'investigate'. This meaning 'investigate' is surely the last rock on which must founder the explanation of Go. *finpan*, etc., 'find' by means of Lat. *invenio* and the like. It is possible to suggest a simple way in which the two contradictory meanings, 'find' and 'investigate', can be derived from the same primary meaning 'tread down': while, if we start from \**pent-* 'come upon', though 'find' is a natural development, 'investigate' presents an awkward problem.

IE. \**pent-* = 'tread down'. We were led by the study of the root in the first part of this paper to visualize the speaker of IE., in a primitive state of existence, making his way through undergrowth, which he trod down and so made a passage. But this same action of treading down obstructive undergrowth would also be a necessary part of the actions of looking for what had been lost: that which was trodden on was examined; and to tread with the foot on the lost object would be the prelude to finding it.<sup>2</sup> This, I suggest, is how the two meanings of 'investigate, seek out', and 'find' were derived from \**pent-*.

In conclusion a semantic parallel may be offered. IE. \**streig-* = 'touch lightly, graze'. In OE. *strican* and other forms the sense 'go' has been developed; from the transitive idea of touching has come the modern English sense of 'reach, find' (*OED.* s.v. *strike*, section 68).

### 3. Gk. ἀπάτη 'DECEIT'

Gk. ἀπάτη is generally connected with the root \**pent-*, but difficulty has been found in explaining the sense. Because of this difficulty it has been sought to explain ἀπάτη otherwise: Fick<sup>3</sup> would divide it as ἀπά-τη, comparing ἀπά-θεῖν, but his attempt fails to make the sense of the words clear and does not merit further attention.

Turning to the explanations which derive the word from \**pent-*, we find here two, both cited by Boisacq. Prellwitz (*Et. Wb. der griech. Sprache*, edn. 2, p. 44) regards the verb ἀπατάω as by haplology from \*ἀποπατάω 'make to wander, deceive'. The

<sup>1</sup> This is the derivation given in Lewis and Pedersen, *Celtic Grammar*, pp. 398-9.

<sup>2</sup> I appeal to others who have hunted in long

grass in the outfield for lost cricket balls, who are able to appreciate both parts of this argument.

<sup>3</sup> K.Z. xli. 198-9.

alternative to this ingenious suggestion is the work of Schrader:<sup>1</sup> ἀ- is from \**sm-*, and -πάτη is from \**pent-*. The original sense of ἀπάτη was then '\*something found', passing to '\*device', then 'trick, deceit'. Boisacq appears to favour this latter interpretation. The great objection to it is that it assumes the meaning 'find' for \**pent-* in primitive Greek, which meaning does not elsewhere survive in the Greek derivatives from \**pent-* and, as we have seen, is certainly attested only in Germanic.

Instead of these explanations I prefer to suggest that in ἀπάτη the initial ἀ- has negative force, and -πάτη is from \**pent-* with the sense 'tread on'. ἀπάτη = '\*land not trodden on, without signs of direction', and hence 'what would mislead, deceit'. The suggestion is not altogether novel. In Stephanus' *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, edn. 3, s.v. ἀπάτη, there are quoted two ancient scholia, which say that ἀπατᾶν is τὸ ἀπάγειν τοῦ πάτον, and that ἀπάτη and ἀπατάω are made up 'ex a priv. et nomine πάτος, quo significatur ἡ τετριμένη ὁδός'. The present explanation offered differs from the first of these in a point of emphasis: the verb ἀπατάω means '\*lead into the ἀπάτη', rather than 'from the πάτος'. Hesychius seems to agree, with his ἀπάτη πλάνη, ψεῦδος.

As for the formation of the word ἀπάτη, the assumed base is a verbal adjective \*πατός 'trodden on'. Adjectives made with the *o*-suffix in Greek are both active and passive in sense: δροπός<sup>2</sup> and λουπός are others with passive sense, though with normal grade of root as opposed to weak \*πατός. The negative \*ἄπατος would be the next stage, whence a feminine noun with collective sense ἀπάτη. The form πάτος 'path' itself calls for comment. Its accent, in view of the weak gradation of the root syllable, is not original: compare πόντος, and the Sanskrit forms nom. pánthās, instr. pathā. Most probably the noun πάτος is derived from a verbal adj. \*πατός. An interesting comparison is afforded by the names of the wolf and bear in IE. 'wolf': Skt. *vṛkas*. Gk. λύκος, Lith. *vilkas* < IE. \**ulq̥os*. 'bear': Skt. *ṛkṣas*, Gk. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus* < IE. \**ṛk̥bos*. In both these series the nouns have accent on the initial combined with reduced grade: Specht's explanation,<sup>3</sup> a satisfying one, is that the nouns are derived from adjectives with accent on the final, and that, when the words changed their function and became substantives, the accent was transferred to the initial. So the original of 'wolf' was an adjective \**ulq̥os* 'rending', and the wolf is 'the render': about the meaning of adj. \**ṛk̥bos* he is less certain, but the formation is similar. Specht suggests that adj. derivatives of this type, with reduced grade of root, are possibly more ancient than the type *φορός* with *o*-grade of root. A parallel division of derivatives into those with normal and those with reduced grade occurs in nouns, e.g. *φορά φυγή*. For the noun πάτος, then, we are led to assume a verbal adjective \*πατός, and it is from that same assumed form that \*ἄπατος ἀπάτη will derive.

If the explanation offered of the derivation of ἀπάτη is correct, the metaphor contained in it must be a very ancient one, since even in Homeric Greek the original meaning of ἀπάτη is obscured. Useful light is thrown on this part of our question by the book of O. Becker already quoted (*Das Bild des Weges usw.*). From this can be seen the very extensive nature of the metaphors associated with the idea 'way' in early Greek writing. In Hesiod (*Works*, 287 ff.) there is the well-known picture of ἀρετή and κακότης, and the difference in the ways that lead to them.

τὴν μὲν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἡλαδὸν ἔστι ἐλέσθαι  
ρημένως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δὲ ἐγγύθι ναίει·  
τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἰδρώτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅρθιος οίμος ἐς αὐτὴν  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δὲ εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,  
ρημέδη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐσύσα.

<sup>1</sup> *K.Z.* xxx. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. δροπά· δρεπτά. Σοφοκλῆς Παλαμῆδη.

<sup>3</sup> *K.Z.* lxvi. 26-7.

The way conducting to disaster is *λεῖη* 'smooth', while that going to prosperity is at first *τρηχύς* 'rough'.

Pindar is rich in 'way' metaphors. One specially apt for our purpose is in *Fr. 213*: *πότερον δίκη τεῖχος ὑψον ἡ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβάνει ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνδρῶν*, *δίκη μοι νόος ἀτρέκεαν εἰπεῖν*. In his phrase *σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις* it is quite possible that Pindar is preserving a trace of the original sense of *ἀπάτη*: *δίκη* is the way of behaviour pointed out (*δείκνυμι*) to us by normal practice, the orthodox and proper route, whereas *σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις* are crooked routes that go over rough, uncharted ground.<sup>1</sup> One might translate 'Whether by following the right way, or by taking a twisting, uncharted course....'

The dangers of rough, untrodden ground are familiar to us in the very common use of *σφάλλω* 'upset, trip up' with the metaphorical idea in the passive 'come to grief, make a mistake'. *ἀσφαλής* 'firm, safe' is what may not be upset, tripped up.

There are some passages where *ἀπάτη* is used curiously in conjunction with adjectives. Homer, *Il. ii. 114*, has *κακὴν ἀπάτην* (and again ix. 21). *ἀπάτη* need not be bad: for that we have too the testimony of Aesch. *Fr. 287*, *ἀπάτης δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ θεός* (where the choice and collocation of the words *ἀπάτης* and *δικαίας*, viewed in the light of Pindar, *Fr. 213*, discussed above, provide an example of the verbal play dear to Aeschylus). 'Leading off the beaten path' was not a bad thing in itself; whether it was bad or not depended on the end in view.<sup>2</sup> In order to make it very clear that you were condemning a particular piece of *ἀπάτη*, it was as well to add that it was *κακή*. So Agamemnon does, *Il. ii. 114*, when complaining of the conduct of Zeus in bidding him go to Argos in disgrace, after previously promising him the glory of sacking Troy. But later in the history of the language *ἀπάτη* became stereotyped with a bad sense, 'deceit, treachery', and its ancient neutral meaning was not a conscious factor in Greek speech.

The only question that remains is whether it is legitimate to put back the metaphorical development of *ἀπάτη* that has been described into the epoch of primitive Greek, for so we must if the derivation given from \**pent-* is accepted. Becker (op. cit.) shows that the extensions of meaning of the idea 'way' associated with *όδός*, *κελευθός*, *πόρος κτλ.* occur first in post-Homeric Greek. Thus if we take the word *ἀπορία*, we find that it occurs first in Pindar, *Nem. 7, 105* (Becker, p. 77), and in a metaphorical sense: *ταντὰ δὲ τρὶς τετράκι τ' ἀμπολεῖν ἀπορία τελέθει*. Becker pursues the use of the word in Herodotus (pp. 120 ff.), Aeschylus (pp. 154 ff.), and other authors with great zeal.<sup>3</sup> But this word (with the allied *ἀπορος*, *ἀπορέω*), so fruitful in the language, is not Homeric.<sup>4</sup> There is, however, a difference in the case of *ἀπάτη*: it is not necessary to assume in its development of meaning the use of the way-metaphor in the full sense (i.e. the picture of man's life, his experience, his composition of poetry, and so on, as a path or road which he takes). The development of meaning would rather be from '\*untrodden ground' to the specialized '\*place likely to mislead', and finally 'thing likely to mislead, trick, deceit'. The early date required for this semantic change is paralleled by the antiquity of the special development in that other

<sup>1</sup> See a similar metaphor introducing *δίκη* in Hesiod, *Works*, 225-6:

*οἱ δὲ δίκας ξένοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν*

*ιθέλας καὶ μή τι παρεκβάνοντι δικαίον...*

<sup>2</sup> It is a good thing, for your own side, to do to the enemy in war. *ἀπάτη* is used of a stratagem in war, Thuc. ii. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Indeed, his zeal throughout is somewhat exhausting and occasionally unnecessary: e.g. his exposition (pp. 44-9) of the simple fact that

in Homeric similes a way (*όδός κτλ.*) is just a place where things happen, and the idea of it does not include the intention of the people, who made and used the way, to get somewhere by using it. And this he precedes by promising to deal with the subject *kurs*.

<sup>4</sup> The earliest uses of *ἀπορία* *ἀπορος* are metaphorical: this may help to account for the comparatively late appearance of the words in Greek (not before Pindar?).

derivative of *\*pent-*, Gk. *πόντος* 'sea' (and Lat. *pons*). The change in the meaning of *ἀπάτη* is a *Vorbild* of the multifarious later extensions of the *Bild des Weges*.

#### 4. Gk. *πόντος* 'SEA'

There is a little that I wish to add to my discussion of this word in the article cited at the start, 'The Name of the Euxine Pontus'. In that article an attempt was made to show that the phrase *ὁ ἀξένος πόντος* (from which *ὁ εὐξένος πόντος*, the name of the Black Sea in Greek) meant 'the inhospitable way', and, being applied to the Black Sea, acquired the meaning 'the inhospitable sea'; and that then, from that phrase, *πόντος* was abstracted with the meaning 'sea'. Thus did 'way' become 'sea'.

Since writing that article I have noticed the following facts. The employment of *πόντος* = 'sea' in a purely general sense, 'sea' the element as opposed to *γῆ* 'earth', is Homeric, and common in later poets; but it is not usual in Attic prose. There *πόντος* is not a term interchangeable at will with *θάλασσα*. The explanation of this restriction of use must be sought in the origin of *πόντος*. The word *πόντος* acquired its meaning 'sea' when applied to a specific sea, the Black Sea. The next extension of its meaning came when it was used to describe other specific seas with other adjectives to qualify it. This use of the word is common both in the earliest Greek, in Homer, and in the classical period: so we find joined with *πόντος* the adjectives *'Ικαρίος*, *Θρηίκιος* (Hom.), *Αἴγαος* (Hdt.), *Ιόνιος*, *Σαρωνικός*, *Σικελός* (Eur.). In two passages the distinction between *θάλασσα* and *πόντος* so used is clearly marked by the presence of both words: Hom. *Il.* ii. 144-5, *κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ φῆ κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης, | πόντου* *'Ικαρίου . . .*; and Hdt. ii. 33, *τελευτὴ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρός ἐσ θάλασσαν ρέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου* *πόντου. . .*. Further, in Homer it is only *πόντος* that is used in this special way: Ebeling (*Lexicon Homericum*) says, s.v. *πόντος*, 'singulae partes maris semper hac voce (i.e. *πόντος*), non synonymis significantur'; and s.v. *θάλασσα*, 'universa moles aquae, non singulae partes, quare caret adiectivis propriis quae habet *πόντος*'. Here there is no accident. This particular use of *πόντος* proceeded from the peculiar past history of the word, and *θάλασσα* did not share in that history. The final extension of meaning was the spread of the word *πόντος* to mean 'sea' in a general sense, which is found already in Homer—further testimony of the antiquity of the special development of the derivatives of *\*pent-*. But this final extension was not complete, the Greeks in Homeric times must have been conscious of the recent nature of this extension, and so *πόντος* with the meaning 'sea', though used by them in the freer language of poetry, was still felt to be 'poetical'. That this feeling persisted for centuries was due to the great capacity of the Greeks for subtlety of sense.

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